Vol. CVI. No. 2743 NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JANUARY 24, 1918 TEN CENTS
Copyright 1918 by The Nation Press, Inc. Reg. U. S. Patent Office.

Notice to Reader.
When you finish reading this magazine place a one-cent stamp on this notice, hand same to any postal employee and it will be placed in the hands of our soldiers at the front.
No Wrapping—No Address.
A. S. BURLESON, *Postmaster General.*

The Nation

Mich Union Club
634 Boylston St

IN THIS ISSUE

American Ideals
By WILLIAM MACDONALD

The Blindness of Sovereigns
By SAMUEL N. HARPER

A Poet Statesman
By A. J. BARNOUW

Advertisement

The Latest Books on Three Vital Problems

The Foreign Policy of Woodrow Wilson

By EDGAR E. ROBINSON and VICTOR J. WEST, both of Leland Stanford Jr. University. $1.75

An analysis and digest of the President's statements and messages, so arranged as to reveal a consistent foreign policy on the part of the Administration. A forecast of the President's future position, as new questions come up for decision, can readily be based on the premises here disclosed.

"One of the best books on such a subject that has recently come to hand . . . a truthful presentation of one of the greatest eras the United States has ever realized . . . carries with it the intense interest that one would expect of such a book."—*The New York Evening Mail.*

America Among the Nations

By H. H. POWERS, author of "The Things Men Fight For," etc. $1.50

An estimate of this country's position in the family of nations. The author makes plain several facts which we tend to overlook, such as our tacit abandonment of the "consent of the governed" and "non-intervention," our consistent imperialism throughout our history, and the grounds for fear of our aggressiveness on the part of certain other countries. Our essential solidarity with the other great English-speaking peoples is made strikingly plain.

The Food Problem

By VERNON KELLOGG and ALONZO E. TAYLOR, both of the United States Food Administration, with a Preface by HERBERT HOOVER, Federal Food Administrator. $1.25

Every aspect of our food problem is discussed by two of the country's most competent experts. Our success in the war hinges on the general adoption of the principles here laid down.

"Here is the one authoritative, explicit statement of 'The Food Problem,' without any exaggeration or undue alarm."—*The New York Globe.*

"The real truth about how food is conserved across the Atlantic, and how it must be controlled and saved on this side."—*Philadelphia North American.*

"This book should be read by every American citizen who wishes to do his duty in the fight for democracy."—*The New York Tribune.*

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY, Publishers, 64-66 Fifth Ave., NEW YORK



A MESSAGE to LIBERALS

TO those men and women of America, sincere in their belief in the principles of real democracy, who cannot find in any of the old parties convincing expression of these beliefs there comes the newly-organized

NATIONAL PARTY

Founded at a conference of radicals and progressives held October 4th, 1917, the NATIONAL PARTY is to-day mobilizing into an effective political organization all the forces in this country that make for true democracy.

The demand for such a party has come from the people of this country in factories, fields, and offices who have lost patience with evasions and compromises and have no time for dogmas or utopias.

The NATIONAL PARTY does not depend for its success upon the political fortunes of personalities. It will become a power for progress only as it receives the whole-hearted support of the rank and file of the liberals of this country

The platform of the NATIONAL PARTY discusses from the standpoint of the average man:

POLITICAL DEMOCRACY —and certain immediate steps towards its attainment.

INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY —Government for the diffusion of economic opportunity rather than the defence of privilege.

INTERNATIONAL DEMOCRACY —the only basis for permanent peace and progress.

It is the part of every intelligent citizen to learn of the principles, spirit, and aims of this important new drive for democracy.

Copies of the platform and details of the organization and activities of the NATIONAL PARTY will be sent to you upon the receipt of ten cents in stamps to cover costs.

WRITE TO-DAY TO

ORGANIZATION BUREAU
NATIONAL PARTY
15 EAST FORTIETH STREET,
NEW YORK CITY.

Postal Guesswork Exposed by Express Rates

Cheaper to send Eggs, Chickens, Honey, Nuts and Fresh Fish on Ice by Express than to Mail Newspapers and Periodicals

Look at these samples from the "Weekly Farm-to-Table Bulletin" issued by the Wells Fargo Express Company for October 27, 1917, and compare prices.

And the express company, remember, earns a profit at these express charges!

These comparisons make the present law of 50 to 900 per cent. increase in periodical postage an oppression!

Advertising page postage cost only is quoted—for the advertising pages make possible the periodicals. Reading pages have been increased 50 per cent. flat!

Low Express Rate per pound on Perishable Foods		High U. S. Gov't Rate per pound on Clean, Neat Periodicals
2 3-4 cents	OHIO TO N. Y. CITY Butter or Chickens	5 cents
3 1-2 cents	INDIANA TO N. Y. CITY Eggs or Chickens	6 cents
3 9-10 cents	WISCONSIN TO N. Y. CITY Honey (per section) *(Approx. 1 sec. per lb.)*	6 cents
4 6-10 cents	ARKANSAS TO N. Y. CITY Nuts	7 cents
6 3-10 cents	TEXAS TO N. Y. CITY Nuts	9 cents
7 cents	SEATTLE, WASH., TO N. Y. CITY Fresh Fish (packed in ice) *(Gross weight 15 lbs.)*	10 cents

Periodical publishers pay all the war taxes imposed by the war revenue bill, and in addition, they alone have had the transportation on their product increased 50 to 900 per cent.

This 50 to 900 per cent. postage increase on Periodicals is a penalty on periodical readers remote from the great publishing centers.

It penalizes readers for the accident of remoteness.

It means ruin for many periodicals. It means restricted circulation for all others.

It attacks the whole mechanism of merchandising through advertising, and penalizes the reading public.

It threatens manufacturers and the livelihood of hundreds of thousands of workers dependent upon manufacturing as well as printers.

Where Do You Live?

What Is the Increase On YOUR Reading Matter?

Write to your Congressman at once and demand the repeal of this absurd 50 to 900 per cent. periodical postage increase!

The Nation

Vol. CVI NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JANUARY 24, 1917 No. 2743

The Week

IT is natural that apprehension should have been created by the assumption of Federal control of the railways, lest the outcome of the experiment might be the drifting into permanent public operation or ownership, without full and fair discussion of the question. This is the reason for the hints from Washington and elsewhere that the pending Railway Control bill should be amended so as to provide, say, for return of the railways to their owners six months after the war ends, or a year after that event. As it stands, all that the Administration measure provides in that regard is that Federal control "shall continue for and during the period of the war, and until Congress shall hereafter order otherwise." The closing proviso has suggested to many a direct purpose of not relinquishing such control at all, even after return of peace. We have not been able to read such purpose into it. The reservation was primarily designed, it has seemed to us, to cover the period of what may be called transition or demobilization; during which period, the very difficulties which lately forced Federal intervention might still confront the transportation industry.

ALL the skilled mechanics the Western railways can spare should, in accordance with the wishes of Secretary McAdoo, be transferred as rapidly as possible to the East. For weeks the railway inspectors have noted in their reports to the Interstate Commerce Commission the need for shop-workers to facilitate repairs. A fortnight ago the New Haven had, out of 1,081 engines assigned to various divisions, 303 in shop unfit for use, while others were leaving the terminals in improper condition with resultant delays on the road. If the Western lines can spare some engines, they can spare mechanics to accompany them. It is also possible that strenuous effort may obtain mechanics from other industries than transportation. Unfortunately, there is a shortage of material for the repair of engines and cars on many lines, as well as of men to make them.

THE food situation seems fairly well in hand. So far no really severe crisis has been precipitated. Viewed in retrospect, the sugar shortage of a few weeks ago was not at all appalling, and, above all, was, comparatively speaking, very short-lived. So far there has been plenty of flour available to the consumer, and the price has been kept within reasonable bounds, although we have been told considerably less wheat has been produced than would meet all the needs of the country and the Allies. The deficit is in a way to be made up by voluntary wheatless days in homes and is to be further covered by compulsory regulation of eating-establishments. Meat and other commodities are controlled in a similar manner and have dropped in price. What the future may hold in store for us in the matter of food supplies cannot at present be foreseen. But, in any event, the nation knows that Mr. Hoover is taking timely measures for the protection of all the parties interested in the problem, from the producer, whose output he has tried to stimulate by fixing equitable prices, to the consumer, whose pay-envelope he is protecting by control of the wholesaler, middleman, and retailer. Mr. Hoover has been wise in assuming control of the food situation gradually, in extending his supervision from day to day, so as to cause a minimum of disturbance.

GERMANY'S refusal to evacuate Russian territory until after the conclusion of a general peace is formulated with a good deal of ingenuity. But it has this considerable drawback, that with regard to any German proposal the world is from Missouri and wants to be shown. Until the ascendency of the elements within Germany that stand for good faith and fair dealing is established beyond dispute, judgment must wait. The German case as outlined at Brest-Litovsk may be summarized as follows: The peoples of Poland, Lithuania, and Courland are now free and independent, both by the Russian formula of self-determination and by the precepts of international law as exemplified in a decision of the United States Supreme Court, which held that the American colonies date their national existence from July 4, 1776. These former Russian lands being now independent, Petrograd's interest in them can go no further than to see that the realization of their independence is promoted. This same interest the Central Powers profess. They disclaim any intention to incorporate the territories, but reserve the right to negotiate with them as they would with any other independent nation. The refusal to evacuate until a general peace is reached may seem inconsistent with this doctrine of independence, but here Germany would argue that so long as war goes on anywhere in the world there is tinder lying loose and war might conceivably flame up again on the eastern front.

ONE dangerous admission made by the German negotiators may be turned against them by the ingenious Bolsheviki. Said von Kühlmann:

> The assertion that the right of self-determination is an attribute of nations and not of parts of nations is not our conception of the rights of self-determination. *Parts of nations can justly conclude independence and separation.*

And the German statement goes on to say that "Courland, Lithuania, and Poland also constitute national units from an historical point of view." But if it is history that determines national unity, what of German Posen and the solid Polish districts in West Prussia? What of Schleswig-Holstein? What of Alsace-Lorraine? These are all now parts of the German Empire, yet were at one time parts of another nationality. It is a concession which would seem to give away the whole case of Austria-Hungary where Bohemia, certainly a former national unity, and now a part of the Hapsburg dominion, asks for just this right of self-determination.

REPORTS of strikes and popular disturbances in Austria may be exaggerated, but of one thing there seems to be no doubt: there is a growing divergence between Austria and Germany. Good evidence of this is the fact that the newspapers of the two Empires are writing acridly of

each other. When the Austrian press complains bitterly of the peace negotiations coming to nothing on account of the greedy demand of the German military party, the retort of the German editors is that Austria would have been blotted out long ago but for the military aid of Germany, and that Austrians had better keep still and wait patiently for the decision of their superiors in Berlin. This is a frank admission that President Wilson was right when he said that Germany had made of Austria a vassal state. But it is not good policy for the over-lord to trample openly on the vassal. This can only stiffen any purpose which the Austrian Government may have had to assert itself in the peace negotiations, even at the cost of a quarrel with Germany. Sir Edward Carson recently declared—and he said that, as a member of the British War Council, he affirmed it "not lightly"—that Austrian policy was becoming more and more distinct from that of Germany. To widen this breach must have been the intent of Lloyd George and President Wilson in their latest utterances about Austria. It will be interesting to see how soon the unequalled talent of the Germans for making themselves hated will score a new success—this time in Austria.

IF the Clyde engineers and shipbuilding workers should insist upon their demand that the British Government withdraw its new man-power bill and call a peace conference before the end of January, a most serious situation would be created. These are extremely powerful unions, and a strike by them would effectually tie up the English shipbuilding programme. Their contention is that there has been a breach of faith with them by the Government; that they were not to be further "combed out" by the draft. The chances are that they will be again brought into line, for this is not the first time that there has been friction in these quarters. The unending work without holidays is beginning to tell upon their nerves, and Sir Auckland Geddes's manner of putting things has not helped to smooth the way. The most significant thing is the additional proof of the growing fearlessness and independence of English labor. If the Clyde shipbuilders feel that they can even threaten a strike for a peace conference as an alternative to more conscription, there is certainly a great change coming about under our eyes in England.

THE Bolshevik decree, just issued, declaring that the inhabitants of Turkish Armenia are to have the right to vote themselves independent, after withdrawal of both Russian and Turkish troops and repatriation of what is left of the deported Armenian populations, at once raises an irreconcilable issue between Russia and Turkey. For what Lenine and his followers demand for Armenia they must, logically, also demand for Syria. Northern Syria enjoyed already before the war, by agreement with the Great Powers, local autonomy under a Christian Governor. Since Turkey's entry into the conflict, all the horrors and inefficiencies of Ottoman rule have been reintroduced, with the result that more than 150,000 people have died of disease and starvation in the Lebanon alone. Southern Syria presents a similar issue, accentuated, however, by the fact that Jews all over the world have an interest in that country already recognized by most of the Allied Governments, Russia included. It is quite clear that any agreement between the Bolsheviki and the Turkish chauvinists is impossible without sacrifice of revolutionist principles.

TWO Americans returned from Russia the other day by way of Germany. Permission to cross hostile territory is explained by the fact that these two men had been engaged in relief work among Teutonic prisoners in Russia, a service which Berlin at its bitterest was moved to recognize. With so much suffering in the world comparatively slight general attention has latterly gone forth to the prisoners of all the belligerents. It has become the habit rather to think of them as a sort of labor reserve for the enemy and a possible source of recruitment for the front in case of a separate peace. Thus in Germany's possible effort against the western front, if peace comes with the Bolsheviki, there have been counted in the two million Teutonic prisoners in Russia. But it is a question how many of these two million men survive at all and how many in anything like a tolerable condition. We get a hint from one source. The number of British prisoners in Turkish hands was officially given the other day at 340 officers and 1,959 men. Now, at Kut alone the Turks took 8,000 British prisoners, so that the wastage in less than two years has been 75 per cent. Even Russia offers better conditions than Turkey for the enemy captive, but those conditions are bad enough. One can only wonder what is now the state of the hundreds of thousands of Austrians who fell to Russia during the first year's campaigning in Galicia.

SOME interesting statistics concerning the manner in which the French medical staff has combated the perils of contagious disease during the present war are set forth in this month's *American Journal of Public Health* by Surgeon-Major Rist, of the French Scientific Mission. Both sick and mortality rates in the French army not caused by battle casualties have steadily diminished since August, 1914. Owing to the hurried mobilization, and to the fact that typhoid vaccination had been tried only on the soldiers actually in training when the war broke out, there seems to have been a typhoid epidemic which rushed the sick and death-rates up to 60 and 2.70 per thousand, respectively. Prophylactic measures, and vaccination, not only for typhoid but also for the two varieties of para-typhoid, reduced these figures by 1917 to about 12 and .30 per thousand, less than the civilian peace-time rates. Here is good news for us. Our army has taken every precaution against the typhoid peril. So there is little chance of an epidemic among our troops such as caught the French napping. Surgeon-Major Rist states that sickness and deaths from other acute forms of contagion, including pneumonia, have been insignificant in comparison with the typhoid total. This is another comfort, in spite of Gen. Pershing's reports of pneumonia cases.

IT is now reported that the plague which has broken out in Shansi and Mongolia is of virulent form. The last world-wide epidemic of plague took its origin in south-central China in 1894, and has not been fully stamped out yet in the Orient, in Africa, and in some South American ports. There are three varieties of the disease—the bubonic, pneumonic, and septicæmic; the new outbreak in China being identified as the pneumonic. Indeed, when the first note of alarm in China came from Tientsin at the beginning of January, it spoke simply of the spread of pneumonia. The obvious danger is that in war time, with all the civilized forces for combating disease mobilized along the battlefronts of Europe, China may suffer in a far greater degree than would be the case in time of peace. In the nineties the

world hastened to forward what means it could of meeting the menace; there is little possibility of adequate help at the present time.

THE resignation of Chairman Willcox, resulting from his acceptance of a place upon the Wage Commission, makes more certain a clash between the two wings of the Republican National Committee at its meeting on Lincoln's Birthday. With Willcox still in the saddle, he and those who see with him would have had a certain tactical advantage in the fight that was expected. His withdrawal reverses that situation, since it leaves Committeeman Adams acting chairman, and Adams was made vice-chairman and entrusted with powers naturally belonging to the chairman, in face of the opposition of Willcox's supporters. The not unfavorable outlook for Republican success in the Congressional elections next November may work either for concessions in the name of harmony or against them. If the Adams contingent hopes for rather than is sure of Republican victory, it will be inclined to listen to members of the Committee over whom it has apparently won the upper hand. If, on the contrary, it is cocksure of electing the next Speaker, there is no telling how stiff it may be. The meeting will be a real test of Republican sagacity and ability to get together.

BOSTON, it appears, has her full share of ex-city employees on pension who, however, are not estopped by that fact from earning another income somewhere else. Perhaps the most piquant case cited by the Boston *Herald* is that of Martin A. Kenealy, who was injured at a fire and retired on a pension of $1,000 a year. His ambition roused by this, he studied law, was admitted to the bar, and practiced until our trouble with Mexico, when he went to the border as a captain. In August, he passed the physical and mental tests, and sailed for France, where he draws his pension and also receives his army pay. Two other pensioners of the fire department are able to serve as chiefs of the fire departments of two other towns, and a former chief, also on pension, is in receipt of a salary of more than $2,000 from the Fire Prevention Commission of the Boston Metropolitan District. These men are not, strictly speaking, grafters. The difficulty is a law that compels or permits employees to retire on pension when they can still be of use to the city, instead of continuing them at work.

IS there a liberal movement stirring at Harvard? Lately we had President Lowell's defence of academic freedom, the most liberal definition that has come from any college president, and to-day we learn of the election of John F. Moors as a Fellow of the Corporation. This is a self-perpetuating body, consisting of five members, whose tendency has been to run to men of State Street affiliations or of conservative views. Now, Mr. Moors is a State Street banker, too, but a man of independent point of view. He does not hesitate to run counter to popular currents, to hold opinions of his own and publicly to avow them. Yet his sincerity and his honesty of conviction invariably win him public respect. Long active in philanthropic work, he headed the Boston relief expedition to Halifax. Altogether, this is a most encouraging appointment; no better selection could, it seems to us, have been made. Yet it remains a fact that the control of the elective Board of Overseers lies in the hands of State Street and Wall Street men.

Gross Blundering

IT hardly needed a blow on the head to make the country believe that the Government at Washington was not the best of possible governments. But the startling order of the Federal Fuel Administrator was like a surgical operation to force that conviction into all brains. It uncovered a long series of governmental blunders. The order dated from January 16, but the mischief dated from months back. Men of experience in the coal trade gave repeated warnings to the Administration, we are informed, as long ago as last June and July, that there was danger of such a crisis as has been precipitated upon the country. But they were smilingly disregarded. The talk now is of the blizzard having deranged all plans. But the real blizzard struck the Administration last summer and buried it under drifts of ignorance, complacence, and short-sightedness. Think of the bare facts! Ten million tons more anthracite were mined in 1917 than the year before. The 1917 production of bituminous coal was forty-two million tons above that of 1916. Of this vast amount, this adequate supply, we had an all-wise Fuel Administrator to regulate distribution, but now he makes open and abject confession of flat failure.

To remedy his own long accumulating blunders, the Fuel Administrator made one still huger. We do not mean that some form of restricting the consumption of fuel had not become necessary. But if the thing was to be done, it should have been done decently and in order. What we have had is hysteria piled on hugger-mugger. We have had action at once inexcusably precipitate and confused. There was no wide consultation with the interests involved—or threatened with deep and perhaps needless injury. Millions of protests were heard after the fact; before it, a mere trickle of advice was sought or had. So inconsiderate was the step taken that, at first, the thunderbolt was dated for Thursday. Even when put off till Friday, the terms and scope of the order were still uncertain. The result was that on Friday the business of the country east of the Mississippi was thrown into a chaotic condition, no one knowing exactly what to do or why. It may not be for the nation to reason why, but it will be sure that some one has blundered. The proof stands mountain-high before the eyes of amazed citizens.

Into the official optimism at Washington the outcry from the country should penetrate and convey a double lesson. One part of it is that special competence must be sought for special tasks. Because the President knows and likes and admires a given man, it does not necessarily follow that he is the man for a particular job. General ability and good will and industry cannot take the place of peculiar knowledge of the work to be done. That Mr. Garfield has made a mess of coal distribution one does not need to go beyond his own official utterances to show. All last October and November he was assuring the country that there would be coal enough for all. His infallible "priority" orders would make certain of that. He was headed straight for a breakdown and a smash, but did not know it. You can hardly say anything of an administrator worse than that. He may allege that the system under which he had to work was at fault, but this is the very point of the second lesson which the Government is being roughly taught. This is that state Socialism is no panacea, and will not work automatically any better than any other theory or plan of government. To

grasp all power and centralize all functions at Washington will be of no avail unless Washington is built to endure the strain. Immense fussiness, in place of reasoned activity; solutions without end on paper while the real problems are scarcely touched with the tips of the fingers; the appointment of countless agents and committees; consultations with no action resulting; the everlasting heaping up of words and advice and good wishes—this is not efficient government. It is the feeblest kind of doctrinairism. If this is the state Socialism which is to bring millennial happiness after the war, hard-headed Americans will look twice at it before they desire another dose. They will not be so anxious to run with all their troubles to the Little Father at Washington when they see that his head easily gets into a whirl and often he is as one that beateth the air. Congestion of freight is bad; but congestion of intelligence is worse.

There is no doubt that the country was confounded and dismayed as it confronted the unknown consequences of the shut-down of industry and the dislocation of business forced by Government order. But there was no doubt either that the country would do the best possible to get along. A tremendous loss hangs over the nation, but the nation is rich enough and great-hearted enough to submit to it if it be necessary as a war measure. The United States always has floundered out of its difficulties, and we believe that it will flounder out of this one. But it will not and should not lightly forgive responsible officials who have ignorantly and blindly run our heads into a noose which foresight and resolution and energy could have enabled us to avoid.

Treason Stalking Abroad

"GROSS incompetence"; "the military establishment has completely fallen down"; "shameful neglect"; "inefficiency in every branch of the Government"; "Garfield's order is aid and comfort to the enemy and therefore pro-German"; "the Cabinet consists only of mediocre, well-meaning gentlemen, thoroughly incompetent"; "easy-going tolerance of Government failings is now criminal"; these are some of the expressions of bitter rage that caught our eyes as we scanned the newspapers of Sunday and Monday. Naturally, we jumped to the conclusion that the pesky pacifists were at it again, perhaps the People's Council had been once more urging some of the very peace terms which Mr. Wilson has been outlining, as they did last summer to the horror of all good citizens. Surely only persons of evil motive could send such messages to our devoted President as the one which went to him on Sunday demanding a War Cabinet, followed by a public statement that the present Cabinet is incompetent and that "incompetence and disloyalty" are to be found below the Cabinet because "a stream cannot rise higher than its source." Surely, we said, this sort of support for our Government is what Congressman Julius Kahn must have had in mind when he declared at a luncheon on Saturday that "a few quick trials and a few prompt hangings" of those who obstruct the military operations of the country "would prove most salutary at this time."

For certainly nothing that we have seen in print could give such aid and comfort to the German General Staff as the announcement already quoted that "the military establishment of America has fallen down; there is no use to be optimistic about a thing that does not exist. There is inefficiency in every branch and every department of the United States Government." That, we felt convinced, must have come from some future Trotzky or Lenine; perhaps even the wicked Mr. Hillquit and his 150,000 New York city supporters were responsible for it! But no, when we came to read it more carefully we found to our horror that it was the utterance of no less a person than the most militaristic and imperialistic and loyal of all our United States Senators, the Honorable George E. Chamberlain himself. And the insulting attack upon the President's Cabinet comes, it appears, not from any alien anarchist, but from that brilliant representative of capitalism and that most ardent supporter of the war, Mr. Richard M. Hurd, of the American Defence Society.

More than that, as we look further we find that it is George W. Wickersham, and not some pacifist school-teacher, who is devoting three columns in the New York *Times* to a declaration that this abused republic should rise in its wrath and put an end to intolerable conditions in Washington. He who but a few months ago was for arresting and jailing anybody who criticised the President is now dealing him a blow that is certain to find its place upon the front page of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* and the Cologne *Gazette* before many weeks have passed. We confess to absolute amazement at what we see. Where is Marshal McCarthy, the guardian of our liberties, who has been so valiantly breaking up meetings of poor, insignificant soap-box orators, Friends of Irish Freedom, of protestants of all kinds? Is it not time to protest to the President that he is failing in his duty? Where was he when Senator Chamberlain declared that our Government had collapsed? He has sent men to jail for saying less on street corners. And where is the Postmaster-General? Why does he permit such matter to go through the mails? As for Cleveland Moffett and his Vigilance Committee, is it possible that they are in France? On no other basis can we understand their failure to make the welkin ring.

Now, of course, we are quite aware that Theodore Roosevelt has been saying worse things than this for months past unrebuked, but he is the *enfant terrible* of our political life. No one wondered that Marshal McCarthy and his minions of the law let him alone; he is a chartered libertine in speech. But how is it that the very groups in our citizenship who have been most vigorous hitherto in insisting that all criticism of the Government should cease, even if it took a firing squad to bring this about, are now the very ones who are assailing the Government? Three months ago any newspaper which dared to print a letter like Mr. Wickersham's would have been accused of pro-Germanism and banished from the clubs. Now we acquit the *Times* readily of any pro-Germanism, and therefore we must look elsewhere for an explanation. After much cogitating, it has come to us. It is not the question of criticism, we now believe, which is the nub of the matter, but who does the criticising. The new ruling is that anybody may criticise freely and patriotically, no matter how insulting to the men now running our Government, or how much it may handicap or embarrass their efforts to better conditions, provided that the critics come from the thoroughly conservative among us and are convinced in their own minds that they are the only ones in whom bubble up undiluted wells of patriotism. The rich and the powerful can be trusted to exercise the right of criticism properly; those who had doubts ten months ago

as to the wisdom of policies must remain silent; if they are of the poor and aspiring, Mr. McCarthy will see to the padlocking of their lips.

Is it not true that Lord Lansdowne and Dr. Garfield are entitled to the thanks of the country, the first for making it possible for Americans to discuss terms of peace without being called traitors, and the second for so rousing public indignation as to make the most reactionary see that you cannot conduct a republic even in war time without proper criticism? We have no fault to find with Mr. Wickersham and Mr. Hurd, provided they couch their criticisms in respectful terms, and that they are constructive criticisms. But even if the form of their utterances is open to question as to good taste, they are within their rights as American citizens. What we do hope is that they will now see that the past temper of a section of the public which sent to jail Christian ministers and horsewhipped a man like Herbert Bigelow was utterly wrong; that there should be the utmost tolerance of differences of opinion as well as of all criticisms which do not cross the boundaries established by good sense and statute law.

The Proletarian on Horseback

THE dispersal of Russia's Constituent Assembly after one feverish session in a ring of bayonets was long forecast. The Bolsheviki have made no concealment of their intention to apply the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat. That creed laid it down that Russia must henceforth be ruled by its toilers as an aggregation of free communes, and that no taint of bourgeois influence must be tolerated. If the Russian masses unfortunately are not prepared to grasp this ideal, then it is the business of the intelligent leaders of the proletariat to think for them and to impose upon the Russian people what the doctor knows is good for it. We must grasp this important phase of Russia's internal problem to understand the Bolsheviki completely. Sincere though they are in the pursuit of peace, it is not of peace only they are thinking, but of the immediate and complete realization of the Communist-Socialist ideal. That they have not the majority of the country behind them was made evident by the votes in the Constituent Assembly. In the face of intimidation, in the face of the prestige which has undoubtedly come to the Bolsheviki as men who do things, three-fifths of the assembly of 400 members voted against them. If we add the absentees—the bourgeois representatives, the imprisoned Socialists, and the representatives of the Ukraine who apparently did not participate—the Constituent would stand against the Bolsheviki probably by a vote of three to one.

That open civil warfare between the Socialist factions is to follow on the suppression of the Constituent is not certain, though the state of feeling is ominous enough and the recent attempt on the life of Lenine may be a symptom. But abstract principle has a powerful sway over the Russian mind, and the original difference in creed between Bolshevik and Social Revolutionist is sharpened by the opposite lesson which the factions draw from the experience of the revolution of 1905. The Bolsheviki maintain that the great promise of that year was frustrated by the timidity of the moderate Socialists. The latter maintain that the conquest of liberties was undone and reaction placed in the saddle by the excesses of the ultra-Reds. This same charge was repeated in Petrograd the other day when Socialist Revolutionaries pointed to the first fruits of the Bolshevist policy, the disorganization of the economic life, the growth of unemployment, and the dread consequence of famine. Starvation in the capital helped to bring on the revolution, and starvation might prove its undoing. So firm is this belief of the anti-Bolsheviki that they came to the Constituent for the purpose of registering their protest, knowing well enough that opportunity for going beyond that would be denied them. And that protest is bound to have its effect on the international situation.

One such effect would seemingly be to slow up peace negotiations between the Bolsheviki and the Central Powers. The former, to be sure, would find in the situation an added reason for making haste. It would be to their interest to confront the Russian people with an accomplished fact. Even the Constituent in its present make-up might have found it difficult to reject a peace treaty if it were presented for ratification. But for the Teutonic Powers the sharp division of opinion in Russia cannot but be a source of anxiety. They must be asking themselves what guarantee of permanence there is for a peace concluded with Trotzky. This may very well be one of the reasons for their insistence on retaining hold of the occupied regions until the conclusion of a general peace. They have no absolute security against the upflare of hostilities on the eastern front while they turn their attention to the west. Strong though the longing for peace may be in Russia, we yet have the Socialist Revolutionists, through Tchernov, President of the Constituent, speaking out against a separate peace, demanding a council of the Allies, and not shrinking from the possibility of a continuance of the war, as when Tchernov dwelt on the services which the Russians might still render to the cause of the Allies, by retreating further yet into the interior but keeping the enemy forces engaged nevertheless. In other words, though the Bolsheviki came into power on a wave of resentment against Kerensky's dilatory tactics, though the policy of Lenine and Trotzky is to frighten the Allies into coöperation instead of winning them over, there is on record the opinion of a strong numerical majority that such a policy of compulsion cannot be successful.

This underlying cleft of opinion cannot be bridged by the summoning of a Bolshevik Congress of Workers and Soldiers which shall declare itself the true Constituent Assembly. The move will probably be made, but Trotzky and Lenine are probably under no illusions as to the permanent authority of a packed convention. To present before such a hand-picked assembly a peace of the kind Germany insists upon would be to transform academic opposition into open warfare. That is why the probabilities point to no undue haste by the Bolsheviki to bring about a separate peace. Rather is it to their interest to prolong negotiations while waiting for that uprising of the peoples in other belligerent countries upon which Bolshevik theory counts for a speedy general peace. Trotzky, for example, may point to the stories of growing unrest in Austria as justification of his policy of proletarian diplomacy. The growing self-assertion of British labor, the possibilities inherent in the Caillaux affair, are additional arguments for a little more patience by the Russian masses while the revolutionary ferment makes itself felt everywhere in Europe. This would be a safer policy than a direct challenge to a great body of Russian sentiment such as was revealed in the stillborn Constituent Assembly.

Diplomatic Tragi-Comedy

"HE warns us," wrote *Spurlos* Luxburg of Buenos Aires to Bernstorff of Washington concerning Joseph Caillaux, "against the excessive praise bestowed upon him by our papers, especially the *Neue Freie Presse*, and desires, on the other hand, that the Mediterranean and Morocco agreements should be adversely criticised." The purpose, of course, is obvious. Caillaux could best forward his policy of friendship with Germany if his own countrymen could be persuaded that Caillaux was feared and hated in Germany. If the German press only could be brought to denounce the ante-war agreements with France over Morocco arranged by Caillaux, as a defeat and humiliation for Germany, with what a proud gesture Caillaux might now sweep on to further victories over German statesmen! As an object-lesson in secret diplomacy, the Bolsheviki should find in this elaborate game of make-believe a more startling instance of the way the lives and fortunes of nations are played with than the formal secret treaties hidden away in archives, whose substance is sufficiently well known. The complement to the stage-managed attacks of the German press upon their good friend Caillaux would be the story of the motives behind the German Boloist campaigns for the subvention of the French press. Was it the German purpose to turn the Paris *Journal* into a friendly organ? Not at all. The *Journal* was to raise a louder shout than ever for the destruction of Germany; whereupon German annexationist statesmen were to rise in their seats in the Reichstag and ask how Germany ever could hope to arrive at an understanding when French opinion clamored for the destruction of Germany: See the Paris *Journal* of the following dates!

The world is not altogether ignorant of the diplomacy of provocation. It has been aware that in addition to the classic diplomacy of cajolery and good-fellowship which floats treaties on floods of champagne, there has been the subtler game whose object is not to outwit the enemy, but to deceive the people at home. The practitioners of hate programmes in every country have welcomed the manifestations of hate in rival countries; and where such feelings did not spontaneously arise, they were created. In this way Japanese jingo politicians could justify themselves by quoting from the hate press in America, and American fire-eaters could find their text in the jingo press of Tokio. In this way big-navy programmes and big-army programmes have been put through. It was the method practiced by Bismarck in 1870 when he succeeded in persuading the French people that their Ambassador had been humiliated in the famous interview at Ems, and in persuading the Prussian people that their King had been grossly insulted. This is diplomacy pursuing the method of the Russian Okhrana, the famous secret service of the Czars, whose main reliance was the *agent provocateur*, the spy who was sent into the ranks of the revolutionists to foment violence in order to justify repression. Caillaux, invoking the "enmity" of the German press in order that he might win the confidence of his own countrymen, immediately suggests the celebrated Azev, who won the confidence of the Okhrana by delivering to them the agents of the Revolution and who held the confidence of the Revolutionists by delivering to them an occasional Grand Duke or Minister of the Interior.

Was Caillaux a traitor to France? In the absence of more conclusive evidence than any yet brought forward, it is impossible to say. He might plead guilty to commerce with the enemy such as stands revealed in the Luxburg correspondence, he might acknowledge the stage-managed enmity of the German press, and yet argue that this was his peculiar method of serving France. For the underlying principle of secret diplomacy is that the end justifies the means; a principle which has frequently been carried to the point where the diplomat himself at any moment finds it difficult to distinguish between the end and the means. It is by no means certain that Azev, in spite of the fact that as head of the Terrorist organization he sent his own comrades to death, was a traitor. He may have regarded himself only as a superman entitled to use any weapons he thought fit. He may have persuaded himself that the sacrifice of a certain number of his comrades was worth the confidence which he thus earned from the secret police and which would enable him to fight the autocracy in his own way. The Russian police, on the other hand, might consent to the assassination of Sergius or von Plehve if they could gain immunity for the Czar. Thus the complexity of human motive worked itself out in an atmosphere of moral chaos. Azev is a character straight out of Dostoievsky. He perhaps could not at any one moment honestly say just what he was, patriot or spy. He played with the lives of his followers as secret diplomacy plays with the lives of multitudes and with the fate of nations.

The doublings of the diplomats may sometimes have served a good end. There is the case of the British ultimatum to America in the Mason-Slidell affair, which the British Minister, Lord Lyons, permitted Seward to glance at in a purely unofficial manner. How helpless the peoples often are in the hands of the statesman manipulators is shown in the episode of the famous number of the Berlin *Lokal-Anzeiger* of July, 1914, with its premature announcement that the German Crown Council had decided for war. One explanation has been that the publication was brought about by the war minority in the Crown Council; that the purpose was to force mobilization in Russia; that this in turn would force the hands of the anti-war party in Berlin. In such devious and fatal ways do the *agents provocateurs* of high statecraft work. It is the evil tradition which the supermen have practiced from the beginning of time. It is the method of the faked attempts at assassination in the Athenian marketplace staged twenty-five hundred years ago by Pisistratus in order that he might obtain the bodyguard which he employed to make himself tyrant. It is the method of that greatest *agent provocateur* of all time who whispered in the ear of the simple Cassio, "Go and importune her," and who whispered to the simple Othello, "Look to your wife; observe her well with Cassio." To a state of things that shall not leave it helpless in the hands of the Iagos of the Foreign Offices a troubled world looks forward.

International Government

IN the latest amplification of its war aims, the British Labor party, professing to speak for the British people, emphatically repeats its recommendation for placing the whole of tropical Africa, and not merely the conquered German colonies, under an international authority. This statesmanlike and practical suggestion, which it is much to be hoped will be made an article of the actual terms of peace,

lends extraordinary interest to the question how far any scheme of international government is practicable. If British labor's suggestion be adopted, what system of control will be applied to Africa?

Three distinct plans of international government have been put forward: First, a world court; secondly, a world legislature; and thirdly, the less ambitious plan of international commissions, each dealing with a specific problem or a specific area. The difficulties and possibilities of the first two plans have been endlessly discussed. While the Hague Tribunal furnishes a certain precedent for the world court, yet in regard to neither world court nor world legislature have we an adequate body of experience on which with safety to build too confident hope for the future. We cannot say that the plans will not work because we have not tried them, but because we have not tried them we cannot say just how they will work.

On the other hand, we have a solid basis of actual experience with international commissions, each limited to its own particular problem. No less than fourteen such joint agencies are either in existence or in prospect, dealing with matters as diverse as those handled by the Danube Commission, the Joint Control of the Ottoman Debt, the Samoan Condominium, the Congo Commission, and the Whangpo Conservancy. In each case, the nations concerned delegate by treaty a certain strictly defined part of their sovereignty to the commission, which then proceeds to exercise and develop the powers thus granted. Such commissions have the advantage over a court, that they do not have to wait for disputes to arise to be set in motion. From the beginning they have certain definite functions to perform, and in performing those functions they develop that very body of precedent and law which a world court would lack. Moreover, in the specific fields which they cover they are at the present moment successfully solving those detailed problems of clashing sovereignties which, unsolved, collectively give rise to war.

The practicability and practical achievement of this plan of international government by commission are strikingly illustrated by the work of the European Commission of the Danube, as described in the presidential address of Prof. Edward Krehbiel, of Stanford University, recently delivered before the Pacific Coast branch of the American Historical Association. Prior to the Crimean War, the lower Danube was a veritable graveyard of wrecked ships. The mutual jealousies of Austria, Turkey, and Russia prevented the removal of obstacles to navigation in the shifting mouths of the river, and the proper policing of the stream as well. At the close of the war, the other Powers concerned proposed to Russia that the river should be neutralized from the point where it became common to two states. The riverain states, however, were too greatly concerned for their own sovereignty to allow this, and a halting compromise was made. Two commissions were set up, one of the riverain states, intended to be permanent, and to have jurisdiction over the whole river, applying to it the principle of joint national administration. The second commission, representing Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia, and Turkey, was a clear example of international administration, only two of the states represented on it having territorial rights over the Danube. So fearful were the riverain states of this little international monster that its life was limited to two years, and its jurisdiction to the lower course of the river.

The history of the two bodies is instructive. The riverain commission never succeeded in coming into operation at all, the jealousies of the states, each anxious to preserve its own sovereign rights, preventing it from doing anything. The European commission, on the other hand, beginning work in 1858 under equivocal conditions, and facing difficulties well-nigh insuperable, justified its existence almost from the beginning, and was renewed from time to time until 1883, when it was made practically permanent, its powers being developed and enlarged as it demonstrated its ability to make use of them. Its record is the story of progressive devolution of national sovereignty upon an international joint agent, and of progressive achievement by that agent, in a field where the states both separately and jointly had shown themselves incapable of the action required in the interest of all. The Commission has received power to carry out immense engineering works, to make navigation and police regulations for the river and to determine finally cases of breach of such regulations, to control the construction of docks and jetties within designated areas (thus in so far withdrawing those areas from the national sovereignty), to share in the administration of sanitation and health laws, to determine its own budget, to levy taxes in the form of river tolls, and to borrow money, pledging the tolls as security.

The history of the Danube Commission is a practical demonstration of the ability of genuinely international government to meet the difficulties of international administration in a decidedly imperfect world of jealous and competing national states. No machinery, of course, can take the place of good will and good faith, but the international commission does furnish the requisite machinery, and we cannot believe that the peoples of the world will fail to furnish the necessary good will. If such machinery has worked for sixty years under conditions of the utmost difficulty on the Danube, why should it not work likewise in Africa—and if in Africa, why not in Mesopotamia, in Santo Domingo, in Haiti, in Nicaragua, and in any other unstable states that must be subjected to outside control? Why not in Porto Rico, the Philippines, and all the colonial areas that we or any other Power are holding for the benefit of the inhabitants? If this method can be applied to the Dardanelles and the Kiel Canal, why not to Suez and Gibraltar—yes, and to Panama? We begin to believe that the imagination of the British and American people, on whom the making of these choices is going ultimately to devolve, will yet prove equal to the task of veritable world reconstruction that such decisions would at length mean.

But these decisions are mostly for the future. For the immediate present, it is enough that we have an international agency of demonstrated workability. We do not have to wait for new machinery, but at the close of the war we can at once set up, on a model already existing, a number of additional commissions, each dealing with its own administrative area or its own special problem; for it is a striking feature of the commission idea that it does not necessarily imply a territorially exclusive field of operations, as national sovereignty does. A series of such commissions, Professor Krehbiel thinks, will "in a space of time develop a whole body of rules and methods of dealing with international questions, which will in effect be the foundation of the super-state itself." The super-state may have its head in the stars, but its feet must be on the ground. Here is a method by which the head may guide the feet.

The Blindness of Sovereigns

By SAMUEL N. HARPER

MUCH of what is going on in Russia to-day must be explained as the "liquidation of the inheritance from the old régime"; Russia is suffering for the "sins of the old régime," to use another expression. Thus many of us saw clearly why the social revolution followed almost immediately the purely political revolution of March. And we sometimes felt that it had to be thus, though Russia should suffer, and her allies also. We wanted revolutions, even social revolutions, where they were needed. Has not our Government stated officially that we are working indirectly for revolution in Germany as necessary for the welfare of all humanity? Certainly a revolution was necessary in Russia; and if it has gone to such extremes, the blame falls largely on the former rulers of Russia, who were both selfish and blind.

The leaders of the Russian public knew what the future had in store for Russia unless the Government recognized the "voice of the people," and listened to it in time. When the war came, the outburst of real patriotism, in the face of danger, suggested an issue: the people were ready to forget the past, and make a common effort, hoping for a better future. Pent-up discontent did not burst forth, and all responsible leaders said quite frankly, "We shall work for the country, and by this work we shall save the country, but at the same time liberate it; then there will be no need for revolution." But the old stupid policy was continued by the authorities. When the catastrophe of the summer of 1915 followed, the leaders became alarmed, and felt that they must act.

These men were elected leaders, members of the Duma, elected presidents of the various public organizations that had been formed to assist the Government in the prosecution of the war. They were the moderate elements of the public. Their first thought was to appeal to the sovereign himself. They were working for unity of action under the sovereign, and therefore wished to talk with the sovereign himself. So they asked to be received, and immediately set about drawing up the address which they would present. It did not occur to them that the sovereign would refuse to receive the chosen delegation, which was to include such men as Prince Lvov, Professor Milyukov, Guchkov, and Konovalov. But the Czar did refuse to receive any delegation, even from the local-government bodies, which were performing such important governmental functions in connection with war work. And the address that had been prepared by the best minds of Russia never saw the light of day.

It is futile to speculate as to what might have happened if the "voice of the people" had been allowed to prevail at that time. But the men who asked to be received saw and predicted what the policy of the Government, if continued, would produce—predicted it two years before the revolution. Their address, carefully prepared, but never presented because of the obstinacy of the sovereign, is worth publishing at the present moment; it should help one to understand why the revolution has gone to such extremes. Perhaps also Russia should be a lesson for others:

"Your Imperial Majesty: We, elected from the Provincial and Municipal Councils of Russia, have been sent to tell you the vital truth.

"When the storm of war burst over Russia, and from the height of the Throne came an appeal for the union of all forces to repulse the enemy, the Russian people, as one man, rose to defend the integrity and independence of their country, laying aside all internal differences and dissensions.

"The outburst of zeal which then seized all Russia corresponded to the true might of the Russian people. In the deepest recesses of the popular masses, Sire, a constant amassing of forces is going on, and a spirit of liberation hovers over us. The great reforms of your grandfather, the never-to-be-forgotten Czar-Liberator, established in the public the fruitful principle of individual action. Since that time the liberating forces of the public have been growing. From generation to generation resounded the appealing voice, calling for freedom; and you, Sire, the grandson of the Czar-Liberator, recognized in your subjects the dignity of citizens, of which they themselves had become conscious, and established representation of the people, for 'the reorganizing of the state.' The forces of the people have grown and developed rapidly during these last years. The war released the political forces of the Russian people, and their strength will only increase under the heavy blows which Russia has suffered. The Russian people have learned to believe in their own forces, knowing that in the union of these forces lies their strength, and the attack of the formidable enemy has not confounded the people.

"In the union of its forces Russia was calm. The majestic and inspiring figure of this unity rose to its full stature before the whole world. Our allies and our enemies were astonished. But to the great misfortune of our country, our Government did not wish to see this figure. The Government alone did not follow the road indicated from the height of the Throne. Only the Government did not join its voice to the general outburst of enthusiasm, did not enter into close union with the people, but met the people's ardent, friendly efforts to save the country with its old deep-rooted distrust.

"In the intense application of their spiritual forces, for the sake of victory, the people forgot their old grievances and oppression, and strove to assist the governmental authorities. But the Government remains unchanged. When our army, without ammunition, was obliged to retreat before the enemy, abandoning lands that had been drenched with its own precious blood, the Government, jealous and suspicious, saw in the highly patriotic movement of the people, a danger to its own authority, as though it were a question of authority and not a question of the integrity, majesty, and honor of Russia. The internal economic conditions of the country have been brought to a state of complete disorganization, and the chaotic conditions prevailing in the country are a danger to the army, a danger to the cause of victory; but for the Government it is as if there were no war. By forgetting the common good the Government laid bare the old sore of Russian political life—the divergence between Government and people.

"As a conscientious duty and in the name of the salva-

tion of the country, we must tell your Majesty that the political stability of our dear country has been deeply shaken. The segregation of authority, and its alienation from the people, have become dangerous, fatal. The hope for a union of authority with the people has disappeared. Discontent and suspicion are growing, rumors of treason and treachery multiply, and confidence in victory is weakening, to the joy of the enemy.

"Russia is in a state of great alarm. The people are ready for every sacrifice; the people will not abandon the war until the complete defeat of the enemy—until he is driven out from the limits of the Russian land. To the last man all in Russia are ready for great deeds in war, and all are working here at home, conscious that victory requires also great deeds on the part of the whole people by a constant concentration of all forces in the rear.

"There is this majestic readiness to make sacrifices and accomplish great deeds, but the popular forces demand the guidance of the authorities. The authorities should stand at the head of this triumphal popular spirit. The authorities should lead the country to victory, and for this they must be powerful and strong by compelling respect through confidence. They must fit in with the spirit of the people, they must grow out of this spirit, as a living plant out of the ground.

"Your Imperial Majesty: From you Russia expects in these fatal days a manifestation of the majesty of the Sovereign Authority, in union with the spirit of the people. Reëstablish the majestic figure of spiritual unity and harmony in the life of the state, for they have been broken by the Government. Give to authority a new character. Put the heavy burden of authority on persons deriving strength from the confidence of the country. Reëstablish the work of the representatives of the people. Open to the people the road towards unity with authority, and with you, Sire. Open up for the country the only road to victory, which has been blocked by the false character of the old system of administration.

"For us and for you, Sire, life is not dear unless Russia be saved. In these sacred moments of the highest and purest efforts of the people, have faith in their great and powerful love for their country.

"The Government has brought Russia to the edge of a terrible abyss. In your hands lies Russia's salvation."

American Ideals

By WILLIAM MacDONALD

WHAT, broadly considered, are the present ideals of this nation of ours?

Turning to a recently published assemblage of documents embodying such ideals,* one finds them falling into three or four general groups, of no one of which are the boundaries chronological. Those of the first group have to do with the motives of our national political life within ourselves. Here at least, if nowhere else, the dominant aspiration has been for liberty. The classic phrases of the Declaration of Independence, at once an indictment of the political order of their time and a charter for the time to come, are still of the foundation of our political life. It has been the service of the United States to prove the practicability of popular government, in representative form, over a wide area organized under more than half a hundred different political forms, peopled by men from every nation, and embracing within its limits a wide variety of natural resource and economic condition. It was the belief in liberty that abolished slavery, and in doing so made an imperfect Union more perfect. It is the same belief that has conserved the right of free thought and free speech even at the cost of momentary excesses or invasions; and it is the same belief that has maintained for all citizens the right to seek their own welfare by any means that seemed to them good, so only that the same right in their fellows was not jeopardized or the necessary functions of the state impeded. If there is one thing more than another for which, in the minds of other peoples as well as of ourselves, the United States has stood, it is political and personal freedom; and although the results have not been perfect, and hard problems of class and race remain to be solved, the stamp of liberty has left its indelible mark.

Along with our passion for liberty, though as a national ideal one long bitterly decried, has gone a passion for wealth. We have heaped up riches and added to them, and having attained them we have often seemed to worship them. More than that, we have worshipped the power that wealth assures. Were this the whole story, the tale would be indeed a sorry one. Yet the amassing of wealth over which some have grieved, has been accomplished by the conquest of a wilderness for civilization, the development of invention and scientific skill to a point not equalled in the aggregate by any nation anywhere, and a marvellous extension and diversification of industry with its opportunities for widely varied employment. Moreover, America has distributed its wealth to an unparalleled extent, not merely through its acceptance of taxation for all sorts of public purposes, or its distribution of earnings in high wages and substantial dividends, but also through an imposing volume of benevolence. The gloomiest critic of the capitalistic system must needs take account of the charities, the hospitals, the libraries, the universities, the foundations for scientific research, and the contributions to social welfare and enlightenment in all parts of the world, the cost or maintenance of which represents, for the most part, a return to the nation or to the world, without hope of reward, of wealth which the men and women of the nation have won by labor, intelligence, and hope. One cannot but wonder, as the United States toils now night and day to put its vast resources at the service of liberty in the great war, whether the passion for wealth and power which has organized the brain and the hand, built up great businesses, and developed the technique of large operations, is not in some measure justifying itself. Whether or not the knell of capitalism in the old form has sounded, is not the future of human freedom appreciably brighter to-day because we in America, alike the exploiters and the exploited of capitalism, are nevertheless economically efficient?

On the important subjects of American education and culture the volume before us offers only two selections:

*_American Ideals_. Edited by Norman Foerster and W. W. Pierson, jr. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. $1.25 net.

Emerson's well-known essay on "The American Scholar," and a short passage from the 1915 report of Commissioner Claxton. Neither adequately sets forth what has come to be, for most parts of the country, especially since the Civil War, a prevailing ideal; namely, the compulsory education, mainly at public expense, of all children, the offer of public higher education, including technical and professional education, to all men and women who desire it, and the continuation, also at the cost of the public, of educational opportunities beyond the school and college period through extension courses, public lectures, and vacation and evening schools. Whatever the shortcomings of the system, in no country has the task of equipping the entire population for a rational use of liberty and economic opportunity been so well supported or so generally approved. Yet it must be admitted that our attainments in culture of either the lower or the higher sort, however distinguished in particular instances, have not kept pace with our attainments in freedom or industrial power. That independence of the scholar for which Emerson pleaded has yet to be realized. Our colleges and universities are not always the homes of academic freedom, and our schools are not as good as our shops. If we have succeeded in avoiding, on the whole, the grosser evils of academic prejudice and conceit, habitual respect for learning or refinement has yet to be won. It has been our habit to excuse our cultural defects, when we did not assertively deny their existence, by pleading youth or preoccupation, but we can hardly continue the pretence now that a world crisis has set us at tasks fit only for the mature.

There remains the question of internationalism. Here, perhaps more than anywhere else, the line of historical evolution is clear. From the early years of provincialism, when weakness and isolation, joined to primitive conditions of political and economic life, enforced a policy of aloofness from most world interests, we have passed by many slow stages, and now of late by a few strenuous and rapid ones, to a point where the welfare of pretty much the whole world has become to us a vital concern. With a speed which still leaves us breathless, yet with a finality which no thoughtful observer can gainsay, we have attained the front rank of the world's interests. To not a few the latest advance has seemed to be not only a violent repudiation of much that America has stood for in the past, but an occasion of grave anxiety as well. On the other hand, the naturalness with which the United States has taken up its new position, and the exhilaration with which its new responsibilities are unquestionably being faced, suggest that the new ideal, however seemingly inconsistent with more ancient dogmas, is nevertheless popularly looked upon as both inevitable and right. Indeed, even the argument from consistency need not lead one to a different end. So long as necessity governed, the United States sought the safe development of democracy within its own borders; and so long as its welfare was not threatened it kept itself to its task, regardless of whether other nations followed its example or not. Its world concern, so far as it had any, was with the welfare of peoples, not with forms of government, or political ambitions, or commercial policies. When, however, in the unfolding of the great war, the ideal of liberty to which America was devoted, and which other great nations had in their several ways embraced, seemed jeopardized everywhere, the defence of that ideal wherever it was threatened became our bounden duty. Were the United States disposed to spread throughout the earth the gospel of democracy, there would be many, doubtless, who would justify it; but its share in the present conflict is not propaganda, but conservation and defence.

Among the things which the war is relegating to the scrap-heap is a considerable volume of European notions as to what America is like. Curious, too, will seem the reiterated descriptions of our manners and our voices, our shopkeeping and our extravagance, which have long done duty in the pages of the casual visitor who writes a book about the United States. Even Lord Bryce, were he to revise again his "American Commonwealth," would have to modify more than one of his kindly but penetrating strictures. It is not that the things that were once said about us were not true, but rather that they seem now to apply to an age long past. What is most conspicuous to-day in the American nation is neither its cultural defects nor its aggressive practicality, but its enthusiastic idealism. Once one stops to reflect upon it, it is clear that we are really doing most extraordinary things, and doing them in a still more extraordinary spirit. We have entered upon a world war without any ulterior purpose. We have categorically renounced at the outset all desire for territory or reward. We are loading ourselves with debt without expectation of indemnity or recompense. We are turning our factories and our railways over to the Government, to be operated under conditions which not only eliminate all hope of exceptional profit for capital, but which may lead before long to complete Government ownership. Thousands of men and women who, three years ago, could hardly have been induced to accept public office at any price, are to-day working long hours in Government posts for merely nominal compensation or none at all; and other thousands are ready to offer themselves when there is need. What is more, the masses of people everywhere, especially the well-to-do, are submitting to regulation, restriction, and control such as even a year ago would have been hardly thinkable, and doing it, too, with a willing acquiescence which bespeaks a sure loyalty of the heart. And why? For no other tangible reason whatever than the belief that, by throwing all our weight on the side of those who mean to defeat Germany and its allies, the world, in President Wilson's great phrase, will be made safe for democracy. Is this the same America which Europe once viewed as "a huge mob of adventurers and shopkeepers," the same nation of which Leigh Hunt said he could never think without seeing "a gigantic counter stretched all along the seaboard"?

Of this new greatness so lately thrust upon us the reader will find no clear prediction, if indeed he finds so much as an intimation, in the larger part of the book which Professors Foerster and Pierson have compiled. Yet the quality of historical interpretation will not be strained if we see in the momentous happenings of to-day only the bursting into more radiant bloom of a growth long prepared. The same belief in liberty, the same zeal for industrial efficiency, the same corporate concern for individual training and enlightenment which have stood as national ideals in the past, still guide and inspire; only with this difference, that they now have the world to range in. It is the course of events that has made us, not a propagandist nation—did not President Wilson himself declare that we should fight, among other aims, for "the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience?"—but the champion for others of things which we are convinced have

proved good for ourselves. Perhaps the dream of a world state will remain only a dream; perhaps the terms of a league of nations will never formally be set down. We shall certainly continue to guard with jealous watchfulness our independence and our rights, and to provide first for the members of our own household. Yet it is something more than a pleasing hope to look for the emergence from the present conflict of a new world temper, not, indeed, necessarily more akin to that which has characterized America at its best than to some other, but more perfectly the expression of the ideals which have come increasingly to be held by enlightened peoples everywhere. It is not the least of America's opportunities that it may now, at a turning-point in history, merge its ideals without jeopardy in the ideals of the sane and the generous among all nations.

A Poet Statesman

By A. J. BARNOUW

MR. TROELSTRA has returned to Holland. Readers of the *Nation* to whom the name is more than a mere sound will know him as the man who took the initiative in calling the Stockholm conference and may, for that reason, consider him a pro-German meddler. By his persistent endeavors to bring about a meeting of Socialist representatives from all the belligerent states, at a time when the Central Powers seemed hard pressed and more immediately in need of peace than their opponents, he has unfortunately incurred the totally undeserved suspicion of being a Germanophil through thick and thin. If the Allies had been the party to gain, at that juncture, by a speedy conclusion of peace, he would not have acted otherwise.

Troelstra's aim was not to come to the rescue of Prussian militarism, an absurd charge to make against the leader of the Dutch Socialists, but to revive the Internationale, in which he sees the only power that can restore peace and brotherhood to the world. This unshaken trust in an organization which the war, at its very outbreak, has shown to be of small avail against the dissolving elements of national greed and chauvinism is characteristic of the man who, all through his active life, has been fired by a fervent belief in mankind. A noble idealism has upheld him in adversity and carried him over all obstacles both in domestic party politics and in his work on a far wider field for the organization of the Internationale. It is in this latter sphere that Mr. Troelstra is in his true element. Home politics offer him too narrow a scope for the exertion of his energy and mental powers. He has a seer's imaginative gift for surveying the immense field of international labor and for consolidating its various interests in one organization. A gift for languages, surpassed only by the linguistic talent of his Belgian comrade Camiel Huysmans, the secretary of the Internationale, has stood him in good stead in this cosmopolitan task.

No foreigner who has met him once and heard him speak can have remained insensitive to the moral dignity and honest fervor of this inspired politician. In addressing a meeting of Dutchmen he equals Mr. Lloyd George in felicity of diction and in the poetic force of his similes. In still another respect the Dutch and the British democrats resemble each other: what English is to Mr. George, so is Dutch to Mr. Troelstra, an adopted speech. The Briton's rhetorical gifts are never better revealed than in his native Welsh, and Mr. Troelstra, a poet by nature, is a poet by profession in his native Frisian. The historian who, one day, is to write the Socialist Troelstra's biography, cannot afford to ignore the poet Troelstra's collected verse which he published, eight years ago, under the title "Rispinge," *i. e.*, Harvest. In many a Frisian home this book is read like a gospel. To Pieter Jelles, as he is popularly called by his Christian names, the writing of poetry is no mere entertainment of his leisure hours; his verse strikes one as the spontaneous outburst of an impassioned soul, and one need not wonder that his Frisian countrymen are proud of the poet who, as a Socialist leader and writer commanding a cosmopolitan audience, chooses their homely idiom to give utterance to his deepest feelings.

> En 'k ha 't bisocht—mar wier, ik kin 't net litte,
> 't Brûst yn my om, der is neat oan to dwaen.

I have tried (to leave off writing poetry), but I cannot give it up; it stirs in me, I cannot help it.

Thus he confesses in a poem of his youth. But the time came when the inner voice was silenced by the stern call of duty that showed him his mission as a party leader. In 1890, at the age of thirty, the poet turned politician and bade farewell to his Frisian Muse. In 1897 he was returned by the Frisian capital, the city of Leeuwarden, which he has represented in the Second Chamber ever since. But in spite of his strenuous work as a member of Parliament and editor of *Het Volk*, the chief Labor organ, he returned, after nineteen years' disloyalty, to his neglected Muse. A Frisian brother poet's challenge made him break his silence. Mr. Troelstra had thrown cold water on the national joy at the birth of Princess Juliana by making the stereotyped Socialist declaration as to his party's attitude with regard to this memorable event, and the general indignation was voiced by the Frisian poet J. B. Schepers, who pitied the statesman in whom the poet had grown old and cold:

> Jow oan dyn lân, dyn moaije tael, de dichter,
> Jow oan dy sels it mimerlok werom.

Give to thy land, to thy beautiful language, the poet back; render to thyself the bliss of meditation.

The appeal touched Pieter Jelles's heart, and he answered in verse: "In these great, splendid times an epic sounds through the world, an epic of truth overcoming falsehood, of new life, new suffering, new battles, an epic of slaves wrestling for freedom, of the first human brotherhood." The reply is a fine justification of both the poet and the statesman. The poet had not grown old and cold, but had given finer expression to the inner life by mingling his mighty voice in the chorus that chants the new epic of freedom and democracy throughout the world. To this man the strenuous fight for a better humanity is poetic creation, and his own life the best of his poems.

The volume "Rispinge" of 1909 contained, in addition to the collected verse of his youth, a new poem called "It Koalsiedterskjen" (the threshing of the rape-seed), which may be considered as the Socialist statesman's poetic manifesto to the new brotherhood of his dreams. In verses reminiscent here and there of Schiller's "Lied von der Glocke" the ceremonial of the old harvest festival, described with striking realism, is made the theme of an ideal programme for the new order of life. Past is the time of painful growth:

> Foarby it slomjen
> Sa waerm yn d'ierd';

It pynlik tinen
Fen 't sie troch 't wiet;
It fyn gewoartel
Stil nei omleech;
It swakke boarjen
Troch klaei omheech.

Past (is) the slumbering
So warm in the earth,
The painful swelling
Of the seed through the wet;
The fine rooting
Still downward;
The feeble boring
Through clay on high.

It is the time for the reapers to bring home the harvest, through the golden fairy light of evening:

As in mearke ût e' gouden tiid
Teisterst it om yen hinne;
Fierre toerren geane sa bliid
Biddend omheech yn 'e sinne.

As a fairy-tale out of a golden time
It glimmers all round you.
Far-off towers go so blithely,
Like prayers, on high in the sun.

Such is the poet's recollection of the peaceful scene at harvest time in his native village, such is the statesman's dream of a future world at peace, the remembered reality of youth seen as a microcosmic emblem of a new social order. That explains how this cosmopolitan with the wide outlook on life has remained so strongly devoted to the small province and the speech of his ancestors. The simple village community beheld by the poet's retrospection, and the brotherhood of men foreseen by the statesman's idealism, are visions of the same order, the goals attained, on plans of different scale, by one course of development. Some seven years ago Mr. Troelstra visited "it âlde doarp," the old village, where he had spent his youth, and the villagers assembled in their ancient church to hear him recite a selection from his own poetry. That day must have seemed to him to foreshadow a new era in which the poet, the politician, and the preacher will no longer be the exponents of three different and mostly antagonistic views of life, an era whose political practice will be guided by the preacher's sense of righteousness and the poet's unfailing instinct for truth.

The Hague, November 10, 1917

Hidden Dawn

By CHARLES R. MURPHY

IF God be too great to heed our little selves,
He is not great enough for us;
Either he is the holding palm
And the bent head above, leaned down
To the swirl and shatter of these years;
Or else he is not anywhere,
And we are lonelier than death.
Thus shall we choose—only let us think,
Denial is not an easy thing to make,
For every crumb of justice done and love bestowed
Weighs to the proof of him we do not know,
And every brave deed ventured
Rivets a coming affirmation to our souls
And out of the brave enigma of the past
Uplifts a dawn wherein we dare to die.

Correspondence

German in Our Schools

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It is irritating as well as amusing to read a letter like Mr. Morse's on "Our Provincial Education," for one reason because of the assumption upon which he trustfully bases his somewhat rambling exhibition of national self-depreciation. That assumption is that children in elementary schools can learn non-American history and politics by studying foreign languages. The fact is that they do not even learn the languages—and this situation is not confined to modern language or the elementary schools, either. They learn imperfectly a set of rules and exceptions, and they put together, more or less dazedly, certain strings of words; but they seldom get at the thought of a passage, granted that there is any thought to get at. They pick out of their readers, doubtless, scraps like the following: "Der Kronprinz ist sehr beliebt, besonders seit seiner Heirat und der Geburt seiner niedlichen Söhne." Doubtless a mature mind could derive certain inferences as to German politics from this fecund statement, but to a child it is no more than a suggestion of an affectionately humble attitude before social superiors. Of course Professor Judd is correct. It is high time for a protest against the inclusion of ill-advised items in elementary school curricula; and there is a very real reason for considering German, first of all, as a candidate for dismissal.

A. G. KELLER

New Haven, Conn., January 2

Rejection of Peace Proposals

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Permit me to express hearty approbation of the views expressed in your editorial "News-Gathering Troubles."

The treatment accorded by the press service in Washington to any peace proposals emanating from Germany or Russia has been exceedingly misleading. The moment that Berlin or Petrograd announces a peace formula, the newspapers with few exceptions flash upon the public such headlines as "Washington Rejects Peace Offer," "Washington Favors War to a Finish," "No Time for Peace Talk, Says Washington." The impression is thereby created in the minds of many persons unacquainted with diplomatic methods that the United States has officially rejected the peace offer. As a matter of fact, by "Washington" is meant some subordinate official or the reporter himself, who has it "on high authority," of course, that the President spurns all thoughts of peace. When the papal peace terms were published last summer, many of the newspapers promptly announced that "Washington" scornfully rejected them. Secretary Lansing was obliged to protest against the misrepresentation of the Government's attitude and call attention to the fact that the State Department had taken as yet no official position on the matter.

In his recent inaugural address, Gov. McCall, of Massachusetts, stated a policy which both editors and correspondents might commendably follow in their treatment of any peace proposals:

It would be far better to consider an offer of peace, even

fraudulently made, than to refuse to give attention to an honest proposal.

When our adversary states particular terms, when he puts himself in the way with us, our thoughts should take some definite shape in response, and not phrase themselves in vague even if noble generalizations, which, however much they may do honor to our moral nature, are for the purposes of the occasion wholly meaningless and negative, and carry nothing from one nation to another.

If an enemy fairly tells us what he will give, and it is too little, let us tell him what we will accept. Otherwise we may make ourselves responsible for the further drifting of the universe, and for the continued deepening of the night that is settling upon civilization.

E. E. CURTIS

Wellesley, Mass., January 3

Nursing the Wounded Civilian

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: One risks the charge of unchivalrousness to say of the letter of your correspondent in Washington, published under the above caption in your issue of December 13, that it is untimely. Surely it is going too far to contend that the nursing of civilians may for one moment be regarded as equal in importance to that of nursing our soldiers, though in this emphatic assertion one would willingly except such men and women as may be working as civilians, with equal effectiveness and with every ounce of their strength, to win the war. As a hospital physician-in-chief of many years' standing, I may be permitted to say that I have yet to hear of any patients in American hospitals, or elsewhere, who have really suffered for lack of essential care owing to a nursing shortage of war origin. When the army and navy and the American Red Cross are clamoring for nurses to go either to our home camps or on service abroad, in "adventure for God," in the happy phrase of Bishop Brent, it would seem to be a gratuitous indulgence of misplaced emotionalism to worry about the needs of civilians or on their account to put forth a plea for stay-at-homes. That plea is especially weak in your correspondent's reference to the obstetric nurse, who is usually one of the luxuries of the well-to-do and in but few instances a clinical necessity. The bearing of children is a natural function of womanhood. It is a physiological, not a pathological, process. Our immigrant Italian and French Canadian mothers, prolific breeders of men, usually manage fairly well in their multiparous undertakings with the aid of midwife or obliging neighbor. In normal childbirth the trained nurse, who tarries for a month or longer in the comfortable households of the rich, becomes of necessity, it is scarcely too much to say, merely a sort of superior body-servant to mother and infant, with the relation of mistress and maid *quoad* subordination temporarily reversed by the consent of the governed or under pressure of the nurse's professional duress or pecuniary necessity.

Neither is it true that "the ancient liturgy of the Church" describes parturition as "the perils of childbirth." For the *ancient* liturgy is the form in actual use in the English Book of Common Prayer, where it reads, "all women labouring of child." Nothing at all there about "perils," while the Latin version is simply *omnes mulieres parturientes*. The American revision is a palpable concession *ad hoc* to Dr. Bowdler in inept paraphrase.

Let not your readers be beguiled by special pleadings for a "Home Guard." There are enough slickers and slackers in all departments of human activity as it is. Capable women who feel moved to go abroad to do skilled work should be encouraged and cheered in their patriotism. It is the soldier who counts first, last, and all the time, if we shall win the fight for freedom quickly. Better far than the spirit that pervades the letter which I am venturing to criticise is, at least at this time, that of Percy, "the Hotspur of the North, who kills me some six or seven dozen Scots at a breakfast, washes his hands, and says to his wife, 'Fie upon this quiet life. I want work.'" That's the sort of work, grewsome though it be, that our soldiers are called upon to perform, and it is clearly the duty of the trained nurse to do her share, in remembrance of Edith Cavell, to avenge every wound that is inflicted by the enemy by binding it up that peradventure the fighter shall go back to the firing line till finally the enemy shall have been put out of business. And while the nurse in the field is carrying on, the mother and baby at home will probably worry through as in old-fashioned times usually happened.

In conclusion, I would fain quote another petition from your correspondent's matchless Litany: "That it may please Thee to strengthen such as do stand; and to comfort and help the weak-hearted; and to raise up them that fall; and finally to beat down Satan under our feet: We beseech Thee to hear us, good Lord." And seeing that as a country we are at last waking up and that there is urgent need still for speeding up in everything that makes for victory, let the lyric plaint of the valiant Hebrew youth who went forth to slay, and who beat down under his feet the Satanic prototype of the Hun, be added reverently as a rider to that petition: "Awake, Lord, why sleepest thou? Arise and be not absent from us forever." G. A. BLUMER, M.D.

Providence, R. I., December 16, 1917

British Drama and Lyric

By O. W. FIRKINS

Collected Poems (1904–1917). By Wilfrid Wilson Gibson. New York: The Macmillan Co. $2.25.

The Collected Poems of James Elroy Flecker. Edited by J. C. Squire. New York: Doubleday, Page. $2 net.

Lollingdon Downs. By John Masefield. New York: The Macmillan Co. $1.25.

Wild Earth and Other Poems. By Padraic Colum. New York: Henry Holt. $1.25 net.

The Man Who Saw. By William Watson. New York: Harper & Brothers. $1 net.

The Cause. By Laurence Binyon. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. $1.

Green Branches. By James Stephens. New York: The Macmillan Co. $1.75.

MR. GIBSON'S poetry goes straight to the heart of life. He stresses death, birth, and marriage with the pertinacity of Nature herself. I could almost imagine him rocking a cradle on a grave to the sound of marriage bells from the neighboring steeple. He is a man to whom earnestness supplies that distinction which lighter spirits seek in refinement or virtuosity, a man in whom the flame of emotion burns high without claiming the moralities or decencies as fuel. In "Stonefolds" and "Daily Bread" he

can depict the *poor man* without sinking the noun in the adjective. He is a man to whom the fact of novelty is more important than the label, who prefers renovation to innovation in metre, who can remove the poeticism from diction while he retains or adds the poetry. Among all the specifics put forth in our day for the enlargement of the area of poetry without sacrifice of its essence, Mr. Gibson's is perhaps the very best in its high efficiency, its untrammelled ease, and—so far as I know—its inestimable silence.

If Mr. Gibson, with all these powers and distinctions, has not quite succeeded in traversing the step which divides eminence from supremacy, the explanation may be found perhaps in the fact that he sees and draws life, as it were, in bulk. I may not compare him to Milton's leviathan who "at his gills draws in, and at his trunk spouts out, a sea." For Mr. Gibson, if unique among poets of his fecundity in the rarity of really short poems, is no less unique in the complete and striking absence of really long ones. But the half-long plays and stories of common life which it has been his pleasure to accumulate, from the splendid overture in "Stonefolds" to the sobered finale in "Livelihood," have all a curious air of having been composed in lots or bunches; they cluster—if indeed they do not mass and conglobe—in the reader's memory. The segregative touch, the touch which makes a thing everlastingly and irreclaimably itself, is rare in Mr. Gibson.

He has diction, but hardly phrase; he has passion, but hardly drama; he has humanity, but hardly character. He is concise, but is prodigal of concision. A master of point when he wills (see "Red Fox" and "Breakfast"), he keeps that mastery in habitual abeyance. Yet so abounding, so dominating, are his diction, his passion, his humanity, that the negations, in the hour of contact, are scarcely credible or visible. I would not let his enemy say that he was fluent or spreading, at least not until I had wrested from that enemy the acknowledgment of the extent to which—on all planes short of the highest—he is incisive, resolute, succinct. Even that highest plane is sometimes reached. I had to work my way through and past the unhesitating and still unshaken conviction that two or three plays like "The Bridal" are among the best and most dramatic one-act plays in English to the ineluctable final admission that his bent was not essentially dramatic.

I cannot close this all too hurried review of a man to whom literature and humanity are grateful without mention of the fact that *interest* in his work is pervasive. A passage from "The Blind Rower" is opportune:

> The son rowed on, and nothing feared:
> And sometime merrily,
> He lifted up his voice, and sang,
> Both high and low,
> And loud and sweet:
> For he was ever gay at sea,
> And ever glad to row,
> And rowed as only blind men row:
> And little did the blind lad know
> That death was at his feet.
> For still he thought his father steered;
> Nor knew that he was all alone
> With death upon the open sea.
> So merrily, he rowed, and sang:
> And, strangely on the silence rang
> That lonely melody,
> As, through the livid, brooding gloam,
> By rock and reef, he rowed for home—
> The blind man rowed the dead man home.

"Cover his face; mine eyes dazzle; he died young." I quote with a shift of pronouns the famous words of Ferdinand in "The Duchess of Malfi," which express the serious critic's attitude in the presence of the exquisite if immature and insecure poetry of James Elroy Flecker. That a bright fragmentariness should mark the verse of one whose life itself was a bright fragment has a fitness that is thoroughly poetic: the reader will dispense with surety of design. In other ways he will do well to prune his expectations; he must look for no drama, no characterization, no philosophy, no ethics. The record of moments in phrases: that is all he must seek, but in James Flecker that is much. I have been wont to plead for the humanization of art, and perhaps I should bungle in the attempt to explain how Mr. Flecker gives the core of poetry in giving only the rind of life. A defender, a half disciple, of the Parnassians, he is almost the only upholder of art for art's sake who can justify his practice to the unbeliever. Fortune in that cult seems to depend on an ardor of temperament which normally carries its possessor beyond the bounds of the school. This young poet is, in a high sense, rare; but while rarity in atmosphere means thinness, in Mr. Flecker the rare is the intense.

His discerning editor, Mr. J. C. Squire, aptly remarks: "His most fantastic visions are *solid* and highly colored and have *hard edges*" (the italics are mine). The word "stamp," so often vainly used in criticism, is precise in its application to Mr. Flecker. He certifies; and when we recall that the things which he certifies are glamour and mirage, we have reached the differentia, almost the paradox, of the man. He is clear not as writer, but as painter; his colors, not his lines, are distinct. Moreover, he unites continence with luxury; Comus speaks in alternation with Sabrina. He says in one phrase: "The bud is red and the leaves pale"; in another, "Load up with Asian snow his Coan wine." The genius of this remarkable young poet is incarnate in those vivid contrasts: it is blush and pallor; it is snow and wine.

The following is called "Tenebris Interlucentem":

> A linnet who had lost her way
> Sang on a blackened bough in Hell,
> Till all the ghosts remembered well
> The trees, the wind, the golden day.
>
> At last they knew that they had died
> When they heard music in that land,
> And some one there stole forth a hand
> To draw a brother to his side.

Mr. Masefield is a mystic, but in our barren and inclement age his is a fasting mysticism, a mood searching painfully for its outward correlate. In "Lollingdon Downs" we ask for food, and he shares with us—his hunger. Mr. Masefield has, to my thinking, two extremities of a really great man, a fiery and unsparing realism and a delicate spiritual clairvoyance. The union of these two elements made Robert Browning, but in Browning they are the two sides, while in Mr. Masefield they are only the two ends, of a great man. In the Georgian poet one misses the connective tissue. When you have named mysticism, adventure, plebeian melodrama, your formula has almost encircled Mr. Masefield. The riches of the Victorian singer are wanting. A powerful dramatic sketch of a tremulous and tingling imperial "Frontier" is the best performance in this brief and rather baffling work. There remain phrases of melancholy charm:

> The flying sky is dark with running horses
> And the night is full of the past;

or again:

> Then, as the full moon draws the tide
> Out of the vague uncaptained sea.

The republished and augmented "Wild Earth" of Padraic Colum has left on my mind a divided, almost a perturbed, impression. Mr. Colum reveals his true strength in an excellent ballad of gramary like "Downal Baun" or such uncoverings of the loam or "pan" in human nature as "What the Shuiler Said" or "An Old Woman of the Roads." His best single touches, however, are not found in work of this kind; they glorify the rims of inferior though more ambitious poems, and, in this questionable setting, they disquiet almost as much as they inspire. "My heart was always lifted with the lifting of the wind" is too lovely a phrase to serve as fit terminal to a sequence of banalities. Mr. Colum has something of the Celt's literary improvidence, so akin to other forms of improvidence in its twofold relation to opulence and beggary. The poem is half-starved, yet it wears a bracelet on its arm on the price of which it might regale a village. Too often the effects are unsustained—unseconded. The Celtic glimmer keeps its inalienable magic, but dreariness or squalor is never far off. Is it because that glimmer floats over a bog—the bog of Irish desolation and poverty—that I am disposed to mistake its twinkle for a Jack-o'-Lantern?

The penetrating lyric "No Child" is free from inequalities.

> I heard in the night the pigeons
> Stirring within their nest:
> The wild pigeon's stir was tender,
> Like a child's hand at the breast.
> I cried, "O, stir no more!
> (My heart was touched of tears),
> O pigeons, make no stir—
> A childless woman hears."

I think Sir William Watson has served England by proving that in patriotic and martial vigor the most fastidious of her artists can vie with the most daredevil of her rhymesters. His fault has sometimes been excess in denunciation, and in the German Kaiser he is lucky in the possession of a subject in which excess is hardly feasible. A gunner may be forgiven if the smoke from his discharges now and then begrimes his own face, but our poet seldom needs the shelter of this analogy. His preface is both Attic and Roman, and in nineteen vigorous sonnets he has shown how the lines of that half-military verse-form can be taught to move "in perfect phalanx to the Dorian mood" of patriotic counsel and incitement. The providence we denied to Mr. Colum is the signal trait of this poet's work, and we shall not be peevish if the superintendence is here and there a little too manifest, if the meritoriousness of the verses sometimes tempts us to forget how good they are. Even the recruiting verse is a fine commixture of energy and finish.

The author's power to look beyond war is evinced in a noble quatrain in a strain that brings to my mind Mr. Sherman's high-souled paper in the *Nation* for November 15:

> To that primeval passion may we yet
> Give ampler range, in fields of vaster marge!
> 'Gainst War itself, when *this* war passes, let
> Our bugles sound a charge.

In "The Cause" Mr. Laurence Binyon is as uniformly elevated and patriotic as Sir William Watson, but only once, I think, in "The English Graves," has he attained the beauty of his rare competitor, and only once again, in the heroic "Anvil," has he equalled his force.

"Green Branches," by Mr. James Stephens, expresses airy pathos and dreamy patriotism in facile and gracile verse impregnated with landscape. The result finds embodiment in a handsome volume on which the publishers have lavished taste and squandered paper.

BOOKS

A Life of John Fiske

The Life and Letters of John Fiske. By John Spencer Clark. Houghton Mifflin Co. 2 vols. $7.50 net.

THE life of John Fiske presents some real difficulties to the biographer. Fiske came first to public notice as a champion of evolution, and as the exponent and popularizer of the philosophical theories of Herbert Spencer. Then, with his reputation in that field apparently assured, he turned from philosophy to American history, and became the most successful and widely known writer and lecturer on that subject whom the country has produced. A biographer, accordingly, must face the task of appraising Fiske's work in two quite different fields; and if, perchance, he cannot himself be both philosopher and historian, he must at least possess, in more than common measure, a *flair* for the two diverse paths. The task is not rendered easier by the fact that, once the admittedly large powers of Fiske stood revealed in their maturity and range, philosophers were inclined to think him at his best as an historian, and historians to urge that he was primarily a philosopher. Moreover, the period as well as the special circumstances of Fiske's life brought him into contact with many of the writers and thinkers, principally in Boston and Cambridge, who contributed to make the middle nineteenth century our time of greatest literary distinction, and also with some of those who fought the early battles for intellectual and religious freedom against the upholders of the old theology; and the biographer who essays to make clear Fiske's place in this period of storm and stress must catch the very spirit of the time and understand the weighty issues that were at stake.

Mr. Clark's volumes are eminently readable, and one who begins them will not willingly lay them down. The main facts of Fiske's life have been industriously gathered, and the narrative is orderly and systematic. A wealth of personal letters and memoranda has been skilfully utilized, and reveals in attractive light the scope of Fiske's intellectual activities and the warmth of his friendships. Rarely has the home life of a man of letters shown itself possessed of greater simplicity or sincerity than these pages display. We see something of how he wrote his books, and more of how he came to write them; what he thought of the notables whom he met, and something of what they thought of him; how he took London by storm before Boston could bring itself to give him a hearing; and how the Harvard that had rejected him turned later to honor him. In all these respects the work is an addition of permanent value to American biography.

As a piece of constructive criticism, on the other hand, Mr. Clark's work is somewhat less satisfactory. Fiske's

career as a philosopher lay athwart two sharply opposed periods of intellectual development in this country, and in each of them, as well as in the battle area which both separated and united them, he was long a conspicuous figure. One might bear with Mr. Clark more contentedly if he had deliberately appealed only to the well-informed few among his readers, taken the historical circumstances for granted, and made of Fiske's life at this point a sort of moving picture without a background. He comes near, indeed, to doing this when he comes to write of Fiske the historian. When, on the other hand, in his earlier chapters, he deals with Fiske the philosopher and religious thinker, his grasp of the subject gives an impression of lacking something in certainty and completeness.

Mr. Clark, for example, is at pains to set down at some length what he understands the "old theology" of the early nineteenth century to have been, by way of contrasting it with the Spencerian philosophy which Fiske devoted himself to expounding. In Chapter V, just before going on to an account of Fiske's career at Harvard, he summarizes in twelve "dogmas" the views from which Fiske had already begun to dissent. Later, in Chapter XX, he repeats the chief points of the summary in less formal language. We have no quarrel with either statement, the first of which, in particular, is skilfully done. But that Calvinism was also a philosophy of life and a theory of social order, as well as a body of theological dogma; that Unitarianism at its best was a protest rather than an affirmation, a leaven rather than a food; that religion is a matter of external form and spiritual obligation as well as of detached personal conviction, influencing in many ways man's relation to social interests and duties; or that the Spencerian philosophy, with all its contribution to a rational understanding of the development of human life and society, nevertheless held out but uncertain guidance to those thoughtful minds which, sincerely anxious to know the external world as it really is, were no less sincerely anxious to know God, are aspects of the subject to which Mr. Clark appears to have given no great weight. They lie at the heart, however, of the intellectual and social revolution in which Fiske had no inconsiderable share, and an appreciation of his life without a comprehensive appreciation of its troubled setting is, at best, only a tale half told.

What adds to the disappointment is the fact that Mr. Clark, in his exposition of the old theology, is curiously sympathetic. He concedes that "these dogmas" hold, in Eucken's phrase, "a tremendous logic . . . which cannot be broken in the middle"; that they "have enshrouded far beyond any other religious system a religious truth of the utmost significance . . . which philosophical thinkers of all ages have recognized as lying back of all experimental knowledge"; that "the ultimate truth of all cosmic phenomena" is "the existence of an Infinite Eternal Power from whom all things have proceeded"; and that "between the Divine Creator and the individual human soul there is, and always has been, a direct spiritual relation which is strengthened as the cosmic knowledge and the moral life of man broadens."

With the case of the defence so strongly stated, one looks the more eagerly for a clear and reasoned appraisal of the ultimate significance of the evolutionary attack. Mr. Clark, however, seems to have been content to marshal the opposing arguments, leaving his readers to draw their own conclusions, in the main, from his unfailing commendation of Fiske and the general tone of the discussion. Yet it is clear enough to-day that the Spencerian philosophy, in so far as it crossed the assumptions of the old theology at all, impugned the form of theological statement and the method of theological inquiry more than it affected the substance of religious belief. It changed the avenue of approach without eliminating the end that had all along been sought. Viewed from the standpoint of spiritual experience, the Unknowable of Spencer, once the conception is stripped of its subtleties, becomes as knowable as the God of Calvin's "tremendous logic." What evolution destroyed, for all save the most thoughtful, was the sense of majesty and reverence, the recognition of sin as a moral lapse rather than an untoward material circumstance, and personal regard for God. If it was true that many who professed to have lost their faith under the evolutionary onslaught had never in truth possessed a genuine faith at all, it was equally true that the new emphasis upon the development of nature and man created a seemingly impassable barrier for those who still would live in the spirit.

It is significant of the bent of Fiske's mind that, once the existence of this gulf was clearly perceived, he was thenceforth increasingly at pains to bridge it. Convinced evolutionist as he was, he was not a materialist, and he could not bear that any sincere soul should be unhappy. Accordingly, while pointing out to Spencer the importance of infancy in the evolution of man, and carrying the theory of evolution into the realm of psychical experience, his philosophical speculations more and more took on a religious cast. Two of his most popular books, "The Destiny of Man" and "The Idea of God," read by thousands who not only would never have ventured to attack the two solid volumes of his "Cosmic Philosophy," but who also persistently hesitated to admit that they were evolutionists out and out, came early to be regarded as satisfying attempts to harmonize the theory of evolution with the fundamentals of Christian faith. Whether they were such or not, they were indicative of Fiske's powers and limitations. He was not a scientist. He read enormously in widely different fields of knowledge, but he neither experimented nor collected nor observed for himself. The material facts which he handled with intelligence and ease were, like the scientific processes which discovered or arranged them, the fruits of others' toil. He was essentially an organizer rather than a discoverer, "clinging to faith beyond the forms of faith," yet clothing his convictions and his hopes, meantime, in a literary garb whose attractiveness no contemporary thinker, save possibly Huxley, could approach. It was a worthy service, and one which every generation needs to have performed for it; yet therein, we think, rather than in the possession of unique independent powers, is to be found Fiske's chief claim to be accounted either a philosopher or a religious teacher.

The same limitation of aim, joined to at least equal mastery of literary resource, characterizes Fiske's work as an historian. Here again Mr. Clark, although he tells us at length how Fiske came to write his historical books, refrains from expressing a comprehensive critical judgment. Briefly, Fiske sought to interpret early American history in the light of a universal experience which, he believed, the founders of America had shared; and to vitalize the story, not merely by presenting it in readable form, but by emphasizing its persistent human interest. To add to the sum of historical knowledge by a patient study of

sources, or to test accepted views of men or events by a scientific examination of the evidence, was hardly his main purpose. He read widely, but chiefly, it would seem, in secondary works; he grouped his wealth of data with rare skill, but with an artistic rather than an informing aim; he endowed his characters with life, but their movements nevertheless staged a play. With economic or constitutional development, the broad field of international relations, or the newer scientific treatment of history generally, he had no vital contact and little apparent sympathy. As in his philosophical writings, the purpose was worthy and its literary execution masterly: the immense vogue of his historical books prepared the way for a readier acceptance of less brilliant but sounder works by other hands. If historical writing is primarily a form of literature, then Fiske was a great historian; but if it is more, then his historical works must be classed with the delightful books which it is a pleasure, rather than a necessity, to read.

We have alluded to the light which Mr. Clark's biography throws upon Fiske's personal friendships and his domestic life. If the material here presented is a conclusive indication, Fiske was anything but a voluminous correspondent, except with his wife: to her he wrote at great length and in minute detail of the people whom he met and of the incidents of his journeyings in this country and abroad. His few letters to Spencer are, of course, interesting landmarks of his intellectual development. His friendships, however, would appear to have been curiously circumscribed. He was in the Cambridge and Boston circle rather than of it; and while he was an honored figure among writers and thinkers there and elsewhere, one forms the impression that, save for regret at separation from his family, he was more at home in London than in the neighborhood of Harvard College. With American historical students, too, his personal contact was not intimate, and he took little part in the learned activities which multiplied so profusely during the last twenty years of his life. One closes Mr. Clark's volumes with the impression that Fiske, in spite of his lecturing, his writing, and his wide acquaintance, was after all a solitary worker. He spent his life in the self-appointed task of interpreting deep things to the ordinary mind. Such men found no school and leave no disciples.

Queen Victoria as a Politician

The Monarchy in Politics. By James Anson Farrer. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. $3 net.

ALTHOUGH it deals in a general way with the whole course of dynastic influence upon the development of English politics since the accession of George III, the larger portion of Mr. Farrer's book revolves around the reign of Queen Victoria, with particular emphasis upon that monarch's part in shaping English foreign policy. Some reasons for this concentration are obvious. The Victorian epoch lasted long enough to create many difficult situations in which no monarch, however willing to follow Ministerial advice, could remain wholly passive. This was especially true of foreign politics, where Victoria's vigorous pro-German sympathies impelled her to influence the decisions of her Ministry on more than one occasion.

It was not that Queen Victoria ever dared to ride roughshod over her Parliamentary advisers, but her earnestness and her perseverance were enough to turn the scale whenever the Cabinet, through internal disagreements, could not quickly make up its own mind. Mr. Farrer has accordingly demonstrated to foreign students of British government a fact which they are too prone to disregard, namely, that while the legal powers of the monarch may have dwindled down to almost nothing, the personal influence of a strong-willed sovereign may still prove to be a factor of great consequence in settling questions of governmental policy. Both Palmerston and Lord John Russell, as the volume proves, were overborne by Victoria's insistence in at least two notable controversies. With Disraeli the Queen was rarely in conflict, but this was only because their minds and ambitions ran in similar channels. Gladstone stood out against the royal desires most valiantly of all, and got himself cordially disliked by her Majesty in consequence. At any rate, there is abundant evidence within the covers of this book to indicate that whatever may be postulated concerning the formal doctrine of monarchical non-interference with the course of parliamentary government in Great Britain, the extra-legal influence of the Crown is something which cannot be lightly brushed aside.

Mr. Farrer has not written for the benefit of those who are wholly unfamiliar with the history of European politics during the nineteenth century. His volume is hardly to be appreciated, much less enjoyed, by readers who are unfortunate enough to find themselves in that category. The book is rather for those who are already versed in the general course of events, who have attained to more than a casual acquaintance with the statesmen and diplomats of the period, and who therefore can fit into their proper places the great variety of gossipy tidbits which the author spreads upon his pages. The Victorian era was prolific in memoirs, biographies, reminiscences, and published collections of letters, all of which Mr. Farrer has diligently ransacked for material. Unfortunately, however, his discrimination is not so conspicuous as his industry. He has apparently gone on the principle that all books are born free and equal, whether they be Hansard's Debates or somebody's Boswellian biography. The consequence is that assertions of varied dependability rub shoulders incongruously throughout the book. Every statement of importance, however, bears the tag of its maker, so that the reader who knows the political literature of the Victorian age will have no great difficulty in winnowing the chaff from the wheat.

The stupendous change which has taken place in the military relations of European Powers during the past seventy-eight years is impressively demonstrated by one fact which the book records, and which may well serve as an example of a hundred other interesting items scattered throughout its ten chapters: "In 1840 the King of Prussia sent to the Duke of Wellington, through Lord William Russell, to know whether in the event of war with France the Duke would take command of the forces of the German Confederation. The Duke replied that without the Queen's consent he could not do so, but that with it he would be both able and glad to lead a German army against France" (p. 201). There have been many turns in the kaleidoscope of European politics since that day, yet men who are still living have witnessed them all.

No student of modern European history or of English government can afford to overlook this volume. Its merits so far outweigh its shortcomings that it would be hypercritical to grumble about the scrappy paragraphing, the habit of scattering references through the text, and the inadequate

index, although a good book could have been made a much better one if the author had only shown a decent respect for the opinions of literary mankind in these matters.

Mr. Root in South America

Latin America and the United States. Addresses by Honorable Elihu Root. Harvard University Press. $2.50.

AMONG our contemporary spokesmen for Pan-Americanism Mr. Root is *facile princeps.* Personal magnetism, high ideals, convincing rhetoric—which he possesses in marked degree—unite with wide legal training, administrative ability, and political experience to give his utterances the force of special pleading and the fervor of inspired prophecy. All who have heard one of his addresses in this particular field will accept this characterization. Both they and a wider circle of readers will welcome the opportunity afforded by this volume to judge with greater care those official and occasional addresses that supplement his important state papers.

The names of Messrs. Bacon and Scott as editors give sufficient guarantee of official character to the volume. Their names may likewise explain some significant omissions—notably Mr. Root's address on "The Ethics of the Panama Question." The date of the address, 1904, not to mention its subject matter—a defence of one phase of the then prevailing imperialistic policy of the United States—would be sufficient to exclude it from a volume emphasizing our recent and more beneficent policy of Pan-Americanism. This policy was definitely proclaimed to the world during Mr. Root's visit to South America. The volume, therefore, opens with his addresses at the Third International Conference of American Republics at Rio de Janeiro, in 1906, and includes other addresses, together with the responses they inspired in the course of his famous tour of the Latin-American countries. Among them we may note, in passing, is the brief address of welcome from the Colombian Minister for Foreign Affairs, upon the occasion of Mr. Root's visit to Cartagena at the end of his journey, and the American Secretary's courteous but inconclusive reply. The occasion itself, so soon after the rape of Panama, was significant. It may be well to note, as a means of contrasting Mr. Root's policy with the "dollar diplomacy" of Mr. Knox, that the latter during *his* tour pointedly omitted Colombia from his itinerary.

The documents relating to the South American visit comprise about half the volume. Composed as they are of formal addresses and responses, often very brief, they make a "scrappy" impression. This is still further heightened by the even more heterogeneous character of the other half of the book. Some fifty pages are devoted to Secretary Root's visit to Mexico in the autumn of 1907, and about twice as much space to miscellaneous addresses on Latin-American relations uttered while he was still Secretary of State. The most striking of these, delivered at Kansas City in November, 1906, summarizes the results of the South American tour, from which he had just returned. The editors introduce each group of addresses by pointing out the salient features contained therein, and these introductions, in connection with the index, will enable one to trace readily Mr. Root's most significant remarks. His message, despite the infinite variety in occasion and expression, is relatively simple. Possibly it is most conveniently summarized in that notable paragraph (p. 10), so often quoted from his address as honorary president of the Third Conference of the American Republics, and in the equally striking statement taken from his address (p. 292) on the "Codification of International Law" at the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress. Briefly, his message is to the effect that the United States desires no further acquisitions of territory at the expense of its neighbors, and that it will fully respect the rights and dignity of all, even the weakest and smallest, and help all "to a common prosperity, and a common growth, that we may all become greater and stronger together." The nobility of this message all will grant, but at the same time the candid reader will recall instances, notably in our position towards the Central American court of justice that Mr. Root was instrumental in starting, when our practice has failed to attain the high level that he favored. Nor has our Government always held "the smallest state . . . upon an island in the Caribbean, or anywhere in Central and South America, as our equal in dignity, in the right to respect and in the right to the treatment of an equal." Fortunately such a reader will have no occasion to hold Mr. Root responsible for these diplomatic derelictions. One lays the volume aside with the distinct feeling that the Secretary who served so well under Roosevelt really ushered in the helpful policy that Wilson has carefully furthered.

Old Bottles

Abington Abbey. By Archibald Marshall. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company.

Missing. By Mrs. Humphry Ward. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company.

Unconquered. By Maud Diver. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The Shining Heights. By I. A. R. Wylie. New York: John Lane Company.

IF anything is clear about current fiction, it is that the brisk, cool, documented, or idea'd affair with which our infant century made so energetic a splurge has quite failed to put the older kinds of story-telling out of business. The world found it possible to be frankly interested in the new fashion without budging from its loyalty to the old ones. Even domestic romance, so often and so peremptorily laid away in her shroud of Victorianism, has placidly declined to "stay put," and has been greeted as warmly as ever in her walks abroad. Very cheerfully, on occasion, we have turned aside from the hard brilliancy of Wells to the humankindness of De Morgan, whose modernism (fancy Boz writing "Somehow Good"!) was so graciously shot through with the sentiment or if you will sentimentalism of the fifties; or to the safe Trollopean world and atmosphere of Archibald Marshall. "Abington Abbey," we must confess, offers a doubtful asylum for the wayfarer in these perilous times. It honestly attempts to be a chronicle of the old sort—of that right and tight world of "county" society, polite love-making, and "proputty, proputty," which so short a time ago Mr. Marshall could show still extant in its integrity. There before him actually *was* the world of Trollope, snug and solid, sixty years after. It is no more; and looking upon it from this remove its chronicler is reluctantly aware that it may have been doomed even in its relative security of ante-bellum days. Under Trollope it had merely to keep up its fences

against the aggression of outsiders—fellows in trade, fellows with theories. In the second decade of our own century came unmistakable rumblings and shakings from beneath. Industrial unrest, political equality, were already something more than inconveniences and impertinences to be brushed away or ignored. The days of the old order were numbered, even before the war swept out of their comfortable corners and into the fire so large a majority of the young squirearchy who might, by sheer British inertia, have held things together a little longer. Mr. Marshall lets fall a melancholy hint or two in this direction, in the course of this story of the Grafton family and their mild affairs. It is a tale of that Littlest England, that provincial estate within the insular, which, during the rule of England's little Queen and after, was wont to distrust London and to hold Europe in contempt. The tiny action of the story turns upon a point of prejudice which the story-teller heartily shares with the good George Grafton. That excellent citizen and devoted father does not hesitate to receive as a guest and intimate a young French marquis who in speech and manner might pass for English, and is indeed only half French. But the taint is there; and when Lassigny undertakes to marry George Grafton's daughter, he goes too far. Grafton's grounds against the suitor are like those of Mark Twain's burlesque Sherlock Holmes, who announces that the murderer in the case is left-handed—because all murderers are left-handed. Lassigny is unworthy to marry a pure English girl because he is immoral—since all Frenchmen are immoral. The delightful thing is that Mr. Marshall permits the event to vindicate not Lassigny, but Grafton!

In its physical boundaries, Mrs. Ward's world never differed greatly from Trollope's. Hers also are the favored ones of public school and country place, rectory and Hall and covert. With less worldliness and no humor, she has been wont to take their perquisites less seriously and their obligations more so. She has liked to worry about their souls and their consciences; but it has always been their breeding that made them worth worrying about. She has liked the broad contrasts of sex—the sensitive female and the dominant male. Manners change, and the cigarette of the county lady must be acknowledged; but a lady she remains. "Missing" is a Victorian romance projected against the world war. The Nelly of the tale is that gentle damsel of old entangled in the cruel net of modern circumstance. Her young husband is reported among the missing soon after he leaves her for the front. A devoted baronet stands discreetly ready to take his place when he shall have been given up for dead. A designing sister, for selfish reasons, seconds the baronet's suit. The husband turns up in a French hospital, speechless from shell shock and sure to die soon. The designing sister refuses to identify him; but chance foils her at the moment when Nelly is almost ready to succumb to the baronet. The husband recovers his senses, and there is a brief reunion before he fades out of life. Whether the widowed Nelly will eventually reward the baronet is left somewhat in doubt. The great experience, at all events, has done something towards developing her character: "She only knew that she was uplifted, strengthened—to endure and serve."

"Unconquered" is a story similarly compounded, of old sentiments and conditions confronted by the new emergency. The baronet is the hero this time, the young domineering British male, ducked to by his tenants and spoiled by his women. His mother is a modern woman, full of spirit and independence towards the world in general; but she does not dream of resenting the egotism and rudeness of her titled and estated son. There is a fine girl who loves him, a girl of character and dignity; she also is quite servile where he is concerned, and snatches eagerly at the crumbs that fall from his table, set for one. Luckily it is the woman he ought not to marry who discards him before he succeeds in making a final mess of things. Of course he goes to the front, and is found in a hospital by his devoted ones, and nursed back to life, and finally induced to take the fine girl who is so Victorian in so far as her relation to him is concerned. "The Shining Heights," by another romancer who is popular in England and little known here, employs a far different war-type for its central figure—the official "slacker." To avoid conscription, Harding has deliberately run away from England on the outbreak of the war. Returning thereafter, he finds himself virtually sent to Coventry. Being a man of sensitive nature, he takes refuge behind an offensive demeanor, and is credited with being a brute. There is a mystery, moreover, in his way of life. Though not a physician, he is known to be working upon a supposed cure for "consumption." His father has been ostracized for the same thing; and the medical fraternity of Britain are promising the son trouble if any of his patients die. The thing happens, and Harding once more runs away, to a fever-ridden African wilderness. This time he has abandoned the wife who has married him in order to devote her fortune to his work. He thinks she loves another, a veteran disfigured by the war, but a stanch fellow, who is quite prepared to devote himself to the wronged wife. There is talk of divorce, but the action is to end in the discovery that Harding's method is after all a success, in his vindication at the hands of his former enemies, the doctors, and in his reunion with the wife who has loved him alone, from the beginning. A good old-fashioned romance of concealments and cross-purposes, it will be perceived, of masculine pride and feminine amenability. Not yet, at all events, has the new wine of the present succeeded in smashing the old bottles of the past.

Notes

ON January 30 the Macmillan Company will publish "The Soul of Democracy," by Dr. Edward Howard Griggs.

E. P. Dutton & Company announce for publication shortly "A Fighting Fool," by Dan Coolidge; "Last Words on Great Issues," by John Beattie Crozier.

The following volumes are announced for publication on January 26 by George H. Doran Company: "Naval Power in the Great War," by Charles Clifford Gill; "Efficiency," by Robert H. Davis and Perley Poore Sheehan; "Alone in the Caribbean," by Frederick A. Fenger; "In Mesopotamia," by Martin Swayne; "The Great Crime and Its Moral," by J. Selden Willmore; "Under Sealed Orders," by H. A. Cody; "The Brown Brethren," by Patrick MacGill; and "World Peace," a written debate between William Howard Taft and William Jennings Bryan.

"The Problems of the Actor," by Louis Calvert, and "Professor Latimer's Progress" are announced for publication shortly by Henry Holt & Company.

AMONG the forthcoming publications of Little, Brown & Company are: "The Pawns Count," by E. Phillips

Oppenheim; "Sunshine Beggars," by Sidney McCall; "The Hope Chest," by Mark Lee Luther; "The House of Whispers," by William Johnston; "The Biography of a Million Dollars," by George Kibbe Turner; and "Mrs. Marden's Ordeal," by James Hay, jr.

G. Arnold Shaw will publish on January 26 "Women and War Work," by Helen Fraser.

Doubleday, Page & Company will publish to-day "The Kentucky Warbler," by James Lane Allen, and "The False Faces," by Louis Joseph Vance.

A MANUAL of Style compiled and printed by the Chicago University Press ($1.50 net) should be of service to that increasing number in our community who have to do with preparing material for the publisher, either as contributor or as compositor. Indeed, many contributors to the *Nation* would make the editorial path less thorny if they had some knowledge of this harmless, necessary art.

IN the plethora of war books, whether from impressionist, non-combatant pens, or from the more authentic combatants, it is not often that we are given to review a refreshing volume like "The Ways of War" (Scribner; $1.50 net), by the late Prof. Thomas M. Kettle. The writer was one of the most promising figures on the Irish scene, as organizer of the United Irish League, as an able journalist, as a member for East Tyrone in Parliament, and as professor of economics in the National University. He enthusiastically identified himself with the National Volunteer movement, and was actually buying rifles in Belgium for the organization when the war broke out. He was also the friend of many of the leaders of the Dublin insurrection, was the brother-in-law of the unfortunate Sheehy Skeffington, and at all times an ardent Home Ruler. The accident that gave him a personal experience of the devastation of Belgium, detailed in the chapter "Under the Heel of the Hun," sent him to enlist, and he was finally killed in the battle of the Somme, at Ginchy, having endeared himself to his regiment as well as to all who came in contact with him. The present volume, with a memoir by his wife, is composed of various papers, all bearing the marks of a rare style and scholarship, which were contributed to the British press from Flanders and France. Grave and gay, a moral earnestness alternating with the gentle cynicism of a cultured Celt, these papers of the brilliant young soldier-scholar make interesting reading. With characteristic passion the opening chapter, "Why Ireland Fought," examines the "Crime against Belgium" and the "Bullying of Servia," and supplies the reason why the author became an officer in his beloved Dublin Fusileers, with whom he fought and died, despite the alluring offer of a merited staff appointment. There are pungent and vivid pages on the scenes he witnessed in Belgium, and on various phases of life at the front, a scathing study of Bismarck, Nietzsche, and Treitschke in "The Gospel of the Devil," while the "Rhapsody on Rats" is typical of Kettle's racy wit. The volume is eminently quotable, and the author's memory, in our opinion, will survive the adventitious glory that has been accorded to many minor makers of literature who have come to an untimely end in the war.

IF President Wilson has any lingering doubts as to the nature or extent of his greatness, he may dispel them by turning the pages of George D. Herron's "Woodrow Wilson and the World's Peace" (Mitchell Kennerley; $1.25). Therein he will learn all about the "interrogation" which the words of his message of January 27 "upstand athwart the human climb"; the "diabolic dualism" from which he is to deliver the nations, and the "matchless experiment in the efficiency of the good" to which he calls them; and how he "has dared to believe divinely." His words, nominally addressed to Congress, "are the sign that there are sons of men who are about to become manifest sons of God, perceptive and virile with His love, unfearing and audacious in His freedom, His alert and inventive fellow-workers in an eternity of creative adventure." If he experiences a momentary agitation upon learning that "it is this spiritual adroitness, this union of extraordinarily political idealism with an equal degree of political cunning, that is his chief characteristic," he has only to read on to the end to discover that "neither his verbal nor his factual movements are academic or theoretic, mysterious or indecisive, or inconsistent with one another in their progress." Interwoven with this rhapsodical stuff is a parti-colored woof of criticism of Germans, pro-Germans, and pacifists, and of proposals for the reconstruction of Europe on lines of nationality. One cannot but wonder a little that a writer who, according to his authorized biography in "Who's Who," "was not accepted as Christian in his views by the church and afterward dropped the Christian phraseology," should phrase so much of his interpretation of the world conflict in Christian terminology; but, then, there is a good deal else in Mr. Herron's book that we do not fully understand.

AMONG the men famed for their precociousness—Poliziano, Scaliger, the Younger Pitt, J. S. Mill—there is no greater prodigy than Hugo Grotius. At the age of eight, upon the death of his brother, he wrote good Latin verse to comfort his bereaved father. At eleven he entered the University of Leyden, where he read unceasingly the Greek and Latin classics as well as the most advanced works on mathematics, astronomy, and philosophy, thereby storing up that extraordinary fund of wide-reaching knowledge which characterizes his later poetical and legal writings. At fifteen his reputation as a scholar was established with the great philologist, Scaliger, by his masterly edition of the encyclopædic work of Martianus Capella. In 1601, when the Dutch Republic wished to choose the ablest man to write the history of their struggle for independence, it was upon Grotius, a youth of eighteen, that the choice fell. Four years later, at the age when the average American is graduating from college, he wrote "De Jure Prædæ." Though this great work remained in manuscript until it was discovered in a bookseller's sale in 1864, the twelfth chapter of it was published in 1609 and entitled "Mare Clausum." It is the first great legal defence of the principle of the Freedom of the Seas. Much of it also was incorporated twenty years later in maturer form in his "De Jure Belli Ac Pacis," the work for which Grotius is chiefly noted to-day and for which he is called the Founder of International Law. Precocity, however, in his case, did not develop a freak, nor burn itself out into early emptiness. In "Hugo Grotius" (Oxford University Press; $2 net) Hamilton Vreeland, jr., has drawn an interesting picture of the personal life of this extraordinary man. He shows how Grotius was able to project his intellect simultaneously, with equal success, along the lines of poetry and religion as

well as of history and law. He does not, however, attempt to analyze or criticise these works. His volume is based mainly on some of the letters of Grotius and on the printed biographies of Grotius by Burigny in French and by Brandt in Dutch.

MR. J. H. WHITTY, of Richmond, Va., has brought out a second edition of "The Complete Poems of Edgar Allan Poe" (Houghton Mifflin; $2.25 net), made notable in a way by the addition of five new poems. The publishing of such waifs is almost always of doubtful benefit to the poet, and certainly these discoveries add nothing to Poe's fame. But, in the case of such a writer as Poe, it would be scarcely human to refrain from printing any scrap of verse that might be attributed to him. Mr. Whitty's edition is the most comprehensive, though not otherwise the best, on the market, and we can be grateful to him for his long and enthusiastic service to the cause of his idol.

TO Prof. Killis Campbell, of the University of Texas, must be given the credit of producing a most scholarly edition of "The Poems of Edgar Allan Poe" (Ginn & Co.). Perhaps the most notable feature of the book is the full use of references to the Poe literature, the volume of which will probably surprise even those who thought themselves well versed in this study. Occasionally the editor corrects an obvious misprint or faulty punctuation, but in such cases the notes always give the exact reading of the source. He sets his *apparatus criticus* at the bottom of the pages, which, considering the extraordinary interest attached to the growth of Poe's text, is probably the best place for it. This apparatus, like Mr. Whitty's, is intended to be absolutely complete, yet, as a matter of fact, there are a few divergences which show that one or the other has slipped. Thus in the text to the stanzas "To Helen," Campbell notes, but Whitty does not note, that "And" of line 10 was changed to "To" in *Graham's*. On the other hand, Whitty notes, but Campbell does not note, that the "Ah" of line 14 was printed "A" in the edition of 1831. Mr. Whitty does not inform us whether or not the "A" was followed by a comma in the 1831 edition, but he certainly does in his note print after "Ah" of the 1845 edition an exclamation point which does not appear in his text. We call attention to these discrepancies without undertaking to verify them; but they are very few in number. In general, Professor Campbell impresses us as a painstaking and accurate editor.

UNQUALIFIED approval can scarcely be the meed of an author who professes to be scientific yet has no notion of history and no clear sense of the value of definition. These faults vitiate the "Brahmadarsanam, or Intuition of the Absolute," an attempt to present to the general reader "Hindu ways of looking at the eternal verities of life," by Sri Ananda Acharya (Macmillan; $1.25). The author thinks that all the philosophical speculations of the world can be traced to the Upanishads; that Aristotle derived his idea of God from Gotama; and that Gotama lived "thousands of years" before Gautama Buddha. He defines the three Gunas as mind, energy, and matter, and then as goodness, energy, and inertia, with mind the result of evolution as an inner sense. Yama (a god) is "Providence," and *āsīt* is indifferently "was" and "has been," where the latter translation is impossible. Despite these defects, the "general reader" will learn a good deal from the Acharya's book, and his exposition, albeit rather too flowery and poetical, of Hindu monism is, on the whole, to be approved. That the author believes in his own philosophy lends to it a charm absent from the colder attitude of Europeans who know it as well as does the author but are not convinced by it: "Every time we enjoy deep sleep we touch the sphere of our eternal glory. . . . The soul plays with herself. . . . Leaving her harp, the muse enters into the lotus-chamber of the heart of contemplation." Believing this and other similar statements, "the true scientist does not deny God." The author admits that his philosophy appears pessimistic: "Nature affords little encouragement for optimism." But behind nature is mind or God; to know man's oneness with God is salvation. And certain mystic exercises (duly explained) give knowledge.

IN recording publication of the fourth and final volume of the series upon "The Institutional Care of the Insane in the United States and Canada" undertaken by a committee of the American Medico-Psychological Association under the editorship of Dr. Henry M. Hurd (Johns Hopkins Press) it is unnecessary to repeat praise of the work uttered on the appearance of previous volumes. This final addition is devoted to the institutions of the Canadian provinces, and to biographies of Americans and Canadians prominent in the care of the insane, and it is as well done as the preceding volumes. The work as a whole collects from widely scattered sources a mass of information upon the history and present standing of asylums for the insane in the United States and Canada, upon the growth of State and provincial administrative systems, and upon the activities of physicians, executives, and philanthropists interested in mental disorders, otherwise unavailable. The road has been hewn through a field of institutional history in a way that might well encourage suitable committees or foundations to attempt similar comprehensive histories of American prisons, American almshouses, and so on. We do not say that the work is by any means perfect. Some States are represented by very sketchy accounts of the State asylums (we have already pointed out the shortcomings of the general history of American practice) and the collection of biographies is lamentably uneven, being got together from all sorts of out-of-the-way obituaries, newspaper notices, and so on. But imperfections were unavoidable.

The Nation
FOUNDED 1865

Published Thursdays. Owned by THE NATION PRESS, INC.,
OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, President.
EMIL M. SCHOLZ, Publisher, Secy. and Treas.

Entered at the New York City Post Office as second class mail matter.

HAROLD DE WOLF FULLER, EDITOR
R. B. McCLEAN, BUSINESS MANAGER
WILLIAM G. PRESTON, ADVERTISING MANAGER
ROBERT R. CLELAND, CIRCULATION MANAGER

SUBSCRIPTION RATES.—Four dollars per annum, postpaid, in United States and Mexico; to Canada, $4.50, and to foreign countries comprised in the Postal Union, $5.00.
Address, THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street
P. O. Box 794, New York.

LONDON OFFICE—16 Regent St., S. W.; WASHINGTON OFFICE: Home Life Building; CHICAGO OFFICE: People's Gas Building.

Report of the American Association of University Professors

THE fourth annual meeting of the American Association of University Professors was held at the University of Chicago, Friday and Saturday, December 28 and 29, with an attendance of sixty members representing twenty-one institutions. In view of the fact that most of the larger organizations which meet in Convocation Week had chosen locations on the Atlantic seaboard, and considering the difficult conditions of travel, this attendance was not disappointing.

The importance and general interest of the programme were fully recognized by those in attendance. First in interest should be mentioned the report of Chairman A. A. Young, of the Committee on Academic Freedom and Academic Tenure, covering numerous and laborious investigations extending over the past two years. Of still greater importance in some respects was the report on Academic Freedom in War Time, submitted by a sub-committee of three—Professors Lovejoy, Johns Hopkins; Capps, Princeton; and Young, Cornell. This report included a thorough and impartial discussion of rights and obligations of members of the teaching profession and enumerated at least four grounds for dismissal of college teachers holding a disloyal attitude. The conclusions of the committee were supported by the practically unanimous approval of members present, as was interestingly brought out in the discussion of a (rejected) amendment under which the Association would have refrained from explicit approval of dismissals under any circumstances.

A report from the special committee on honorary degrees emphasized the desirability of basing such awards on faculty recommendations with due regard for representation of all departments. The committee on recommendations of the second Pan-American Scientific Congress reported recommendations for developing closer relations with the Latin-American educational systems through the Pan-American Union or otherwise. The committee on pensions and insurance reported on the progress of its negotiations with the Carnegie Foundation and presented the following recommendations, which were adopted by the Association:

(1.) We believe that the plan of insurance as proposed by the Commission, if actuarially sound, is well adapted in its general features to meet the needs of teachers in American universities and colleges, although we believe that experience will indicate that the plan should be modified in some particulars.

(2.) We recommend that this Association do not appoint representatives to participate in the organization of the proposed insurance company until there is substantial compliance with the conditions hereinafter enumerated.

(3.) We recommend that the American Association of University Professors express its approval of the plan and cooperate in launching it when the following conditions have been satisfied:

(a) That before taking any steps toward the organization of the proposed insurance company and before the diversion of any funds available to the Carnegie Foundation to the purposes of the proposed insurance company, the present obligations of the Foundation, both legal and moral, be examined and determined, so far as is practicable, with precision and definite and binding assurances be given by the Carnegie Foundation or some other responsible body that provision will be made for meeting those obligations to the extent of the financial resources of the Carnegie Foundation and of any funds available to it.

(b) That the proposed plan of insurance, together with a comprehensive statement of its prospective operation, be submitted to an independent body of actuaries for study, and its criticism and suggestions invited.

(c) That the proposed plan of insurance be so modified that in the organization of the proposed insurance company suitable provision be made whereby within a reasonable time, if not immediately, the power to elect the company's trustees or directors shall be vested in the policyholders, in proportion to their contribution to the financial resources of the insurance company, and that they shall have authority to vote in person or by proxy at all meetings for the election of directors.

It was voted that these recommendations should be approved and, further, that when in the judgment of committee P, concurred in by the executive committee, the plans of insurance of the Carnegie Foundation conform to the spirit of the recommendations in this report, the executive committee should be authorized to take such steps as may be necessary for coöperation in carrying on these plans.

The officers elected include: Prof. J. M. Coulter, Chicago, president, in succession to Prof. Frank Thilly, Cornell; Prof. Roscoe Pound, Harvard, vice-president, in succession to Prof. John R. Commons, Wisconsin; Prof. Harris Hancock, Cincinnati, treasurer, in succession to Prof. J. C. Rolfe, Pennsylvania. Prof. H. W. Tyler, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, continues as secretary.

On recommendation of the local branch at Johns Hopkins, a new committee was authorized to consider what steps could be taken to provide for the continuance during war conditions of the work in bibliographies and other apparatus of productive scholarship, which has been suspended in Europe. At the instance of the local branch at Vassar College a committee was authorized to consider the range of opportunities open to women in university and college teaching.

A committee of three was appointed to take such steps as may be found appropriate, in coöperation with other agencies, to guard the colleges and universities, as well as the nation, against harmful consequences in case the draft age should be lowered. A message to the President of the United States pledging the loyal support of the Association was unanimously adopted.

H. W. T.

The American Historical Association

THE American Historical Association, organized a third of a century ago, held its thirty-third annual meeting, December 27-29, at Philadelphia. The programme reflected, as was natural, the influence of the war and dealt rather more than is usual among historians with current events. In a conference on Ancient History the timely question of imperialism was discussed in a number of excellent papers—Oriental Imperialism, by Professor Olmstead; Greek Imperialism, by Professor Ferguson; Roman Imperialism and its decay, by the late Professor Botsford and by Prof. Clifford Moore. Mommsenized history found no adherents. "Military History and War Economics" was another subject scheduled for discussion, but unfortunately the priority demands of government service prevented the appearance of the principal speakers. The increasing importance to the United States of her relations with the Far East found expression in papers on the Occidental attitude towards China by Professors F. W. Williams and Latourette, and on Japanese party politics and emigration by Professor McLaren and Sydney L. Gulick. It was also the *raison d'être* of a very successful dinner conference of members interested in Far Eastern History. These "group dinners," attended by a few men interested in a special field of work, where discussion can be sufficiently informal, are becoming an increasingly frequent and attractive feature of the annual meetings of the American Historical Association. They afford a pleasant means of killing several birds with one stone.

As to the other sessions, the programme committee is to be congratulated for its avoidance of heterogeneous papers on unrelated subjects by recent Ph.D.'s looking for prospective positions. The programme gravitated wisely to one of two kinds of sessions. Either they consisted of papers read by men of established reputation who understand how to write with breadth of scope and general interest, though perhaps not on closely related subjects, or the papers were confined to the discussion of a single narrow subject to which each speaker was able to contribute the knowledge of a specialist. Of the latter kind, for instance, was the conference on English mediæval taxation, discussed by Professors Lunt, S. K. Mitchell, Gras, and J. F. Willard. Similarly, the session on recent Russian history, before a crowded audience, gave opportunity to several well-informed specialists. Alexander Petrunkevitch, now of Yale University, explained how the Russian intellectuals are to be credited with having prepared the way for the recent revolution, but how, when it was accomplished, they were unable to command the sympathy and support of the masses. Professor Golder, of Washington State College, gave a vivid day-by-day

narrative of the first week of the March Revolution, of which he was an eye-witness in Petrograd; incidentally he cited considerable circumstantial evidence tending to show that the revolution was brought on by trouble on a small scale which was staged by *agents provacateurs* under orders from Protopopov. This reactionary Minister of the Interior had counted on strengthening himself and crushing unrest by suppressing a small uprising of strikers, little suspecting that the Cossacks were so lukewarm and that the revolution would so quickly get beyond his control. Professor Harper, of the University of Chicago, traced the evolution of political power in Petrograd from the hands of the Constitutional Democrats in March, 1917, into the present Bolshevik control.

In the sessions of the other type, Professor Jameson's paper on "The Association," instead of dealing, as many had expected, with the American Historical Association, traced historically the political meaning of the word "Association," a term signifying a signed agreement for the prosecution of a common political object. The first most notable example of its use was the famous Association of 1584 to defend Elizabeth from assassination. A letter of Burghley's makes it pretty certain that the idea was suggested, not as one might suppose by the similar "bonds" and covenants dear to Scottish hearts, but by the Dutch Compromise of 1566, which in turn is probably to be traced to the Catholic leagues in the early French religious wars. As an extra-legal means of obtaining political action the Association was the forerunner of the modern political party, by which it has been superseded. Prof. F. J. Turner described the paramount part played in American history by the North Central States in the middle of the nineteenth century. Beginning with the ice-age and its geologic influences, he showed how, within the borders of these geologically defined States, many racial stocks—bowie-knife-loving Southerners, cow-milking Yankees, beer-drinking Germans, and wild Irishmen—were rapidly fused together into a new plastic people, quite different from any of its component elements, which reflected strongly the geographic and economic factors of the region in which it settled. Incidentally he brought out the little-known fact that the settlement of the extreme Northwest—the Oregon territory—was principally due to an agricultural depression in the central Northwest. On the basis of "Who's Who" he proved, in a way to warm the heart of the peoples of the North Central States, how great a share in industry, finance, art, literature, and education is at this moment being played by men who were either born in this region or who moved into it as boys and thus fell sufficiently under its beneficent influence to be accounted its sons. The query might be raised whether the fact that "Who's Who" is published in the very centre of this region has had any appreciable effect on the selection of names which it contains. Professor Hart, in an amusing sketch of the psychology of the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention, gave the impression that an historical prophet is without honor in what should be his own country, and Professor Dunning, with his accustomed charm and wit, analyzed the trend of recent American historiography.

The unrest of teachers of history in the secondary schools was evidenced by the large number of persons who attended the discussion of this subject. Prof. Henry Johnson warned against the tendency of teaching too much "current events" and of continually shifting the emphasis and interpretation of history to accord with the political interests of the moment. He urged that we should take example by the French, who in 1902 laid down a connected programme of history for the whole school course. It is unbiassed, seeks to understand sympathetically the progress of humanity, and is therefore universal and stable in its point of view. It is the very opposite of that German *Tendenz* teaching which has taught the glorification of one nation alone and which has resulted in the intellectual isolation of Germany from the civilization of the rest of the world. Such a course of study as the French have achieved is an ideal; it is more easily attained by a nation whose national history for centuries is perhaps more nearly identical with the highest development of Western civilization. It is for the French, as Professor Bourne pointed out, far easier than for the United States, where national history forms so relatively brief a part in the evolution of humanity. A Committee of Thirteen—*absit omen*—has been appointed by the American Historical Association to see what progress can be made towards drawing up a more ideal history programme for American schools, a course which shall define more closely the present four fields of history recommended by the Committee of Seven and which shall also bring about a better coördination between the elementary and secondary schools. Though it is unfortunate that Professor Johnson finds it impossible, on the grounds of health, to continue as chairman of this committee, it is to be hoped that the committee can make some headway towards a plan that will bridge the increasing divergence between the present four-fold "block-system" of history courses, which was devised by teachers of history, and the propounded idealistic schemes advocated by school administrators and general educational boards who have no special knowledge of history and regard it merely as one little part of the whole school curriculum. It may be that the crowded existing courses are lacking in coördination and universality, but it is equally certain that too many of the propounded pedagogic panaceas, which allow the pupil to "glide" over the universal history of humanity, encourage in him deplorable habits of superficiality and smattering.

Minneapolis was provisionally fixed as the place of the next annual meeting, and New Haven for the meeting in 1919; but in view of the possible emergency of continued war conditions it was left to the discretion of the Executive Council to change the place of meeting or to omit the meeting altogether. The officers for the coming year are: President, William R. Thayer; vice-president, Edward Channing; second vice-president, Ambassador Jusserand.

S. B. F.

Amusements

"NONE CAN AFFORD TO MISS IT——————ALL CAN AFFORD TO GO."
GREATEST SUCCESS EVER KNOWN "Cheer Up!" Mats. EVERY DAY Seats 6 weeks ahead
Management CHARLES DILLINGHAM Staged by R. H. BURNSIDE HIPPODROME AT THE

EMPIRE BROADWAY AND FORTIETH STREET. Evenings at 8. Matinées Wednesday and Saturday at 2.
Ethel Barrymore THE LADY OF THE CAMELLIAS

Finance

Old-Time "Government Control"

IN the Civil War the Federal Government found it necessary to deal with the railways in a manner akin to that which it has adopted in the present day. On January 31, 1862, an act was approved providing that:

> The President of the United States, when in his judgment the public safety may require it, be, and he is hereby, authorized to take possession of any or all the telegraph lines in the United States, their offices and appurtenances; to take possession of any or all the railroad lines in the United States, their rolling stock, their offices, shops, buildings, and all their appendages and appurtenances; to prescribe rules and regulations for the holding, using, and maintaining of the aforesaid telegraph and railroad lines, and to extend, repair, and complete the same, in the manner most conducive to the safety and interest of the Government; to place under military control all the officers, agents, and employees belonging to the telegraph and railroad lines thus taken possession of by the President, so that they shall be considered as a post road and a part of the military establishment of the United States, subject to all the restrictions imposed by the rules and articles of war.

The act further provided that any attempt to interfere with the Government's use of this property, or to destroy any part of it, should, in case the interference were "too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings," be punishable "by death, or such other penalty as a court-martial may impose." This severe penalty was

probably thought necessary because many of the railways were so close to the battle-front. It was provided that three commissioners should be appointed by the President to determine the damages suffered, or the compensation to which the railway or telegraph company was to be entitled. The award of this committee was to be submitted to Congress for action. The salary of the commissioners themselves was fixed at "eight dollars per day while in actual service." And at the end of the act was affixed the clause: "That the provisions of this act, so far as it relates to the operating and using said railroads and telegraphs, shall not be in force any longer than is necessary for the suppression of this rebellion."

The Northern railways seem to have given complete satisfaction. Quartermaster-General Meigs testified that the railway companies had been patriotic and generous. At the close of the war Gen. Grant commended the superintendent of river and railway transportation for "never delaying for a moment any military operations dependent upon you."

In the South the railways and their control was a quite different story. In 1861 the railways had already begun to deteriorate, and as the years went on their condition got worse and worse. In time of peace every article of railway equipment had been purchased at the North. At the same time, with decay came increased business, one element of which was the transportation of food to great distances for the army and cities.

In April, 1863, there were 6,300 miles of railway in the Confederacy, exclusive of those in the hands of the enemy. But owing to the deterioration of the permanent way and lack of equipment, few trains were run. Cities desired food which the railways could not bring. In January, 1864, it was said that corn was selling at $1 and $2 a bushel in southwestern Georgia, and at $12 or $15 in Virginia.

Government work continually encroached on the ordinary business of the railways. Yet it was by no means well done. The Secretary of War was seriously anxious about the "dilatory and irregular transportation on the railroads." One of the railway presidents informed him that at least 49,500 tons of rails were necessary annually for the maintenance of the railways in the Confederacy. There were only two works capable of turning them out; their combined annual capacity was only 20,000 tons; and these two mills were occupied wholly with Government work, which, being presumably material of war, constantly received preference. Later came the report from the railway bureau that fifty locomotives were useless for want of tires, which could be made only at Atlanta or Richmond; furthermore, no car, engine, or machine shop could do "one-half the work offered it for the want of men and material."

Mails were irregular and long delayed. The two guides published in the South indicated a time of fourteen to eighteen miles an hour, including stops, but the traveller was lucky if his train made a continued progress of from five to eight miles per hour. Trains were always late. Accidents were frequent. An Englishman mentions the conventional joke that "a journey from Wilmington to Richmond was almost as dangerous as an engagement with the enemy."

According to the official estimate of the capacity and the schedules, one or two passenger trains ran daily each way on the railways, but at times the Government compelled them to suspend all other service in favor of the transportation of provisions for the army and of officers and soldiers returning to their commands.

Vice-President Stephens gave an interesting account of his attempted journey in May, 1864, from Charlotte to Richmond, on "a passenger car attached to a train loaded with bacon for the army." On one dark and rainy night he ascertained that there was a train five minutes behind his, and that the only precaution taken against a rear-end collision was the placing of a lamp on the rear platform of his car. The locomotive steamed slowly up the grades, but dashed furiously downhill. While going up a steep grade the cars broke loose from the locomotive and ran down the grade at increasing speed for two miles, until, having reached the foot of one hill, they began to ascend the other, and finally came to a stop just in time to avoid colliding with the train behind. After a while the locomotive came back, and Stephens proceeded on his journey. He never reached his destination, but that is a story of still further accident and delay.

One would fancy that the railways were not prosperous. Yet a citizen of Raleigh said in a letter to the Secretary of War that there had been a continuous and rapid advance in fares and freight rates on the railways of the Confederacy until the charges had become "extraordinary and excessive," enabling them to declare dividends at from 30 to 60 per cent. per annum.

HENRY HAZLITT

BOOKS OF THE WEEK

FICTION

Aumonier, S. Just Outside. Century. $1.35 net.
Bower, B. M. Cabin Fever. Little, Brown. $1.35 net.
Casey, P. and T. The Wolf-Cub. Little, Brown. $1.40 net.
Dillon, M. Comrades. Century. $1.40 net.
Sprague, R. The Flamingo's Nest. Berkeley, Cal.: Lederer, Street & Zeus. $1.35 net.

MISCELLANEOUS

Americanization. Compiled and Edited by W. Talbot. Handbook Series. H. W. Wilson Co. $1.50.
Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1916. Washington: Government Printing Office.
Bevan, E. The Land of the Two Rivers. Longmans, Green. $1 net.
Bloomfield, L. Tagalog Texts with Grammatical Analysis. University of Illinois Studies. $1.50.
Carnahan, D. H. The Ad Deum Vadit of Jean Gerson. University of Illinois Studies. $1.75.
Cervantes, M. de. Rinconete and Cortadillo. Translated by M. J. Lorente. Boston: Four Seas. $1.50 net.
Cheradame, A. The United States and Pan-Germania. Scribner. $1 net.
Cram, R. A. The Nemesis of Mediocrity. Marshall Jones Co. $1 net.
Deacon, J. B. Disasters and the American Red Cross in Disaster Relief. Russell Sage Foundation. 75 cents net.
Douie, J. The Panjab, Northwest Frontier Province, and Kashmir. Putnam.
Dudden, F. H. The Heroic Dead. Longmans, Green.
Early English Portrait Miniatures in the Collection of the Duke of Buccleuch. Lane.
Fowler, W. W. Æneas at the Site of Rome. Longmans, Green. $1.50 net.
Hind, C. L. The Invisible Guide. Lane. $1 net.
Hutton, E. Highways and Byways in Wiltshire. Macmillan. $2 net.
Klein, A. F. The Diary of a French Army Chaplain. McClurg. $1.25 net.
Lucretius. Edited by W. A. Merrill. University of California Press.
Meyer, K. Miscellanea Hibernica. University of Illinois Studies. $1.

(Continued on Page 102.)

Summary of the News

ON January 18 the Fuel Administrator, Dr. H. A. Garfield, put into force a drastic order directing nearly all industries east of the Mississippi River and in Minnesota and Louisiana to shut down for the next five days, and on the subsequent nine Mondays until March 25. The order was signed with the disapproval of the Senate, but neither the President nor the Senate has interfered with its execution. This action was inevitable in view of the hopeless congestion on the railways throughout the country, from which the serious shortage of fuel and the acute suffering in great cities arose. In spite of protests from manufacturers, the nation has accepted the ruling in good spirit, while certain exemptions have since been granted by the Administrator to food, drug, and department stores, which are allowed to remain open on the interdicted Mondays. From this ruling it is expected that an enormous saving in coal will be effected, as the demands of trade in respect of light and heat were considerable. Exemptions were also made in favor of all plants that are engaged in Government work.

AS a result of the Senate investigation of the War Department, a bill has been prepared by Senator George E. Chamberlain to establish a War Cabinet with powers affecting military organization that are superior to those enjoyed by the Secretaries of the Navy and Army. No head of an executive department is to be a member of the War Cabinet, while no clause states whether or not the President is to attend its meetings. It is understood, however, that such a contingency as the President's participation in its councils has been favorably settled by the framers of the bill. It is proposed that the Cabinet shall hold office until six months after the termination of the war, or at a date designated by the President. President Wilson has expressed strong disapproval of the bill.

THE Bolshevik delegates, after a rumor of dissension between the negotiators, have resumed peace discussions with the Quadruple Alliance at Brest-Litovsk. Meanwhile, reports of serious political and social disorders indicate that the Bolshevik régime has not complete control of the reactionary elements in the empire. One reason for this unrest is the lack of food and fuel that is being felt in the capital and in other large cities. The important Constituent Assembly has been dissolved by Premier Lenine, in spite of its support by the Russian Railway Congress. Before its summary dissolution the Constituent Assembly, under the anti-Bolshevik chairman, Tchernov, declared itself in favor of a peace conference with the Allied Powers.

FROM the confusion of political dissensions now active in Russia, evidence that the Bolshevik régime is still in power is shown in the extraordinary situation that has arisen between Petrograd and the Rumanian Government. Premier Lenine has issued an order for the capture of the Rumanian King Ferdinand, on the ground of obstructing the Bolshevik peace parleys. It is charged that the King arrested certain Austrian officers who were delegates to the Conference while they were on their way to the meeting during the armistice. The Rumanian Government is determined to resist the Bolshevik order. Meanwhile, the Rumanian army is reported to be strictly observing the armistice on the eastern front, although no Rumanian officials have attended the Peace Conference.

FOLLOWING upon the recognition of Ukrainian independence and the admission of Ukrainian delegates by the Quadruple Alliance to the Brest-Litovsk Conference, a separate peace between the Ukraine and the Quadruple Alliance is now an assured fact.

BRITISH labor has declared itself in favor of the Bolshevik platform of no annexations or indemnities and the principle of self-determination of peoples. For Africa, the British Labor party has suggested international control, while self-determination is promised India and the peoples of the Near and Middle East. An appeal is made through the Russian party to the Teutonic peoples to "declare themselves or make their Governments speak for them in answer to Russia and ourselves."

MEANWHILE there is abundant evidence that the opinions of the Teutonic peoples against the reactionary and obstructionist aims of their representatives at the Russian peace parleys are being declared, despite the strict censorship. Conditions in Germany and Austria are reported to verge upon an economic disaster, while serious rioting following upon popular demonstrations in the important cities of the Teutonic empires record widespread dissatisfaction and a strong desire for peace. In Austria, an anti-German feeling has already expressed itself in semi-official quarters in view of the German desire to annex Poland. A war of political factions has been precipitated in Germany over the official resistance to the principles outlined at the Brest-Litovsk Conference. The Socialists are said to have organized against the jingo Pan-German element. Already a large peace strike involving 100,000 workmen in munitions factories in and near Vienna is reported, while public meetings openly denounce the German war party.

THE submarine activity, after the two bad weeks recorded, has once more subsided. The tonnage loss for December last, including the disastrous week that showed a loss of twenty-seven British and French ships, was two and a half times the average loss for the summer of 1916. The destruction of submarines last December was almost five times the rate in the summer of 1916. That the destruction of submarines is having an appreciable effect on the morale of the German navy is indicated in the report of a serious mutiny at the submarine base of Kiel. This dissatisfaction, as was the recent naval mutiny admitted in the Reichstag, is due to the demoralization resulting from continual drafts for submarine service.

THERE has been a recrudescence of naval activity during the past week. After a period of comparative security the British east coast was once more visited by a raiding German warship, which bombarded the unfortified port of Yarmouth for five minutes, killing three persons and wounding ten. Last year a submarine bombarded the open port of Scarborough. Great satisfaction, however, is to be derived from the Admiralty announcement that the famous warships Goeben and Breslau, identified with Turkey since the beginning of the war, have been rendered useless. The battle cruiser Goeben, which aided the Turks during the Gallipoli campaign, has been driven ashore near the mouth of the Dardanelles, while the cruiser Breslau has been sunk—both vessels having struck mines. The British forces sustained the loss of a large and a small monitor in the action.

EXCEPT for successful raids by the French and British on the western front, violent artillery duels and airplane warfare provide the chief military activity. News that the Germans are rushing large forces to the western front explains these movements as the result of a food shortage in Germany rather than as a prelude to an immediate offensive. On the Italian front, where violent artillery actions prevail, the Allies have taken the offensive. Austrian counter-attacks in the region of Mount Asolone were repulsed. Another Austrian attempt to cross the Piave near Venice was also defeated.

THE British Government has at last adopted a system of national food regulation, involving compulsory rationing. Food cards are to be required after February 25 by all ages and conditions of society. Shopkeepers are expected to record every purchase made. Margarine, butter, milk, and other dairy products are chiefly affected, while the consumption of other foodstuffs is to be regulated by the card system.

FURTHER details of the arrest of ex-Premier Caillaux reveal the fact that his imprisonment on charges of conducting secret negotiations with the German Government was due to revelations made by our State Department. Secretary Lansing has supplied the French Government with intercepted cable dispatches from Count Bernstorff involving Caillaux in a conspiracy treasonable to France. The meetings between the Teutonic officials and the French ex-Premier are said to have taken place during a visit to Argentina in 1915. Further arrests among French officials associated with Caillaux have followed upon Secretary Lansing's revelations.

SATISFACTORY data have been gleaned in the Senate investigation of the Navy Department. Chairman William B. Oliver has learned that 424 war vessels are now under construction or contract, in addition to submarine chasers; these constitute the largest building programme undertaken by any navy. Over 700 passenger and freight vessels, yachts, tugs, fishing boats, and other craft have been converted to war use by the Department.

DRASTIC action has been taken in regard to the supplying of coal and stores to neutral vessels at American ports. The new order aims at shutting off from Germany, through neutral channels, any goods or information that may be of service to the enemy. The War Trade Board will require owners of vessels failing to comply with these regulations to dismiss any captain, officer, or members of crews that it may request.

ANOTHER order requiring the Americanization of all crews on merchantmen used exclusively by the Navy and War Departments is likely to result from the formation in the Navy Department of the Naval Overseas Transportation Service. It is hoped to supply any deficiencies in personnel from the national naval reserve.

(Continued from Page 100.)

Norman Prince, a Volunteer who Died for the Cause he Loved. Houghton Mifflin. $2 net.
O'Malley, L. S. S. Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, and Sikkim. Putnam.
Powers, H. H. America Among the Nations. Macmillan. $1.50 net.
Report of the Librarian of Congress and Report of the Superintendent of the Library Building and Grounds. Fiscal year ending 1917. Washington: Government Printing Office.
Royden, A. M., and Others. The Making of Women. Oxford Essays in Feminism. Edited by V. Gollancz. Macmillan. $1.60.
Samuel, H. The War and Liberty, and an Address on Reconstruction. Hodder & Stoughton.
Steele, D. M. Vacation Journeys East and West. Putnam.
Stires, E. M. The High Call. Dutton. $1.50 net.
Whibley, C. Jonathan Swift. Putnam.
Willson, W. P. The Child that Does Not Stumble. Badger. $1.25 net.
Yerta, G. and M. Six Women and the Invasion. Preface by Mrs. Humphry Ward. Macmillan. $2 net.

BIOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

A Crusader of France. Letters of Capt. Ferdinand Belmont, Killed in Action, 1915. Dutton. $1.50 net.
Ainger, A. C. Memories of Eton Sixty Years Ago. Dutton.
Correspondence of John Henry Newman with John Keble and Others. Longmans, Green.
Cory, H. E. Edmund Spenser: A Critical Study. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Creighton, L. Life and Letters of Thomas Hodgkin. Longmans, Green. $4.50 net.
Farrer, R. On the Eaves of the World. 2 vols. Longmans, Green. $9 net.
Holt, L. H., and Chilton, A. W. The History of Europe. Macmillan. $2.60.
McCarthy, D. J. The Prisoner of War in Germany. Moffat, Yard. $2 net.
Whibley, C. Political Portraits. Macmillan. $2.50 net.
Williams, E. C. Leaves from an Officer's Notebook. Longmans, Green. $3.25 net.

POETRY

Aiken, C. Nocturne of Remembered Spring. Boston: Four Seas. $1.25 net.
Dennis, C. J. Ginger Mick. Lane. $1 net.
Hodgson, R. The Last Blackbird and Other Lines. Macmillan. $1.35 net.
Leavitt, E. Songs of Grief and Gladness and "Deborah." Boston: The Williams Co.
O'Conor, N. J. Songs of the Celtic Past. Lane. $1.25 net.

Adams' Description of Industry
AN INTRODUCTION TO ECONOMICS
By HENRY C. ADAMS, Professor in the University of Michigan. x+270 pages. 12mo. $1.25.
An interesting and vital textbook in elementary economics which is a real contribution. Economic principles are dealt with not as abstractions but as living forces at work in the industrial world. They "are permitted to clarify themselves through description of the industrial process rather than by direct analysis."
The style of the book is clearness itself. The sentences are short, and technical nomenclature is reduced to the minimum. Illustrative examples are drawn from familiar experience.

Everett's Moral Values
A STUDY OF THE PRINCIPLES OF CONDUCT
By WALTER GOODNOW EVERETT, Professor of Philosophy in Brown University. xiii+439 pages. 8vo. $2.50.
This book offers a study of ethics for college classes and also for the general reader. It aims to arouse and guide the thought of the student in an effort to win for himself a constructive view of the moral life.



HENRY HOLT AND COMPANY, 19 W. 44th St. NEW YORK

THE WAR AND THE BAGDAD RAILWAY
By MORRIS JASTROW Jr., Ph.D., LL.D., Univ. of Penna. In the words of President Wilson the Bagdad Railway is "the heart of the matter" of the present conflict. This is a war book of the utmost importance by an authority on Eastern civilization. It is the story of Asia Minor and its relation to the present conflict. Serious students of the problems of the war will find in it a complete survey of the situation in the Near East. $1.50 net.
J. B. LIPPINCOTT COMPANY,
PUBLISHERS, PHILADELPHIA.

LUCRETIUS
Edited by WILLIAM A. MERRILL.
Price, cloth, $3.00; paper, $2.50.
Free lists of titles in Agricultural Sciences, Amer. Archaeology and Ethnology, Botany, Economics, Education, Engineering, Entomology, Geography, Geology, History, Mathematics, Pathology, Philology, Physiology, Psychology and Zoology.
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
BERKELEY, CAL. 280 MADISON AVE., N. Y.

Timely and Patriotic
MARY FRANCES FIRST AID BOOK
$1.00 Teaches little girls what to do in emergency. $1.00
The JOHN C. WINSTON CO., Philadelphia

Vacation Journeys—East and West
By David M. Steele
Author of "Going Abroad Overland."
8°. 13 Illustrations and 2 Maps. $1.50.
Contrasts between modes of summer life at certain of the foremost recreation centres and the higher moods engendered by some scenes outdoors of meditation. The places covered include: Lake Champlain, Saratoga Springs, White Mountains, Newport, Adirondacks, Niagara Falls, Thousand Islands, Lake Chautauqua, Across the Continent, Yellowstone Falls, Grand Canyon, Canadian Rockies.
G. P. Putnam's Sons
New York London

EVERY BOOK
advertised in this magazine (with possibly a few exceptions) is to be had on its day of publication in this, the
LARGEST RETAIL BOOK STORE
Prompt attention given mail orders
John Wanamaker
NEW YORK
AND PHILADELPHIA

RODIN: THE MAN AND HIS ART
With Leaves from His Note-Books
Introduction by James Huneker
By Judith Cladel
Gives an account of Rodin's life, and, largely in his own words, the great sculptor's meditations on modeling, on flowers, on portraiture, on nature, and on the great works of the past. 50 illustrations. Quarto, boxed, $5.00.
Published by THE CENTURY CO., New York

ANNUAL REVIEW

One of the most important issues of the year

The Nautical Gazette

This issue will be a review of the leading events of 1917 in the shipping world. The latest obtainable statistical information on foreign and domestic ship-building and shipping will be presented and an account given of the remarkable growth of the mercantile fleet of the United States during the past three years. In addition, the review will contain articles contributed by men prominent in shipping circles, on the following subjects:

Salvage
Marine Insurance
Review of American Ship-building
Turbine Development
Future of Great Lakes as Ship-building Center
Thermit Welding
Motor Equipment for Canals, Ports, etc.
Admiralty Law
Plant Development
Rights of Vessel Operators
Fuel Oil
Vessel Construction
And others

Copies 10 cents each. Place your order now.

Address Circulation Department, 20 Vesey Street. Advertising forms close February 4th. Issue is out

February 7th, 1918

Why not enclose $1.00 for a six months' experimental subscription?

"At McCLURG'S"

It is of interest and importance to Librarians to know that the books reviewed and advertised in this magazine can be purchased from us at advantageous prices by

Public Libraries Schools, Colleges and Universities

In addition to these books we have an exceptionally large stock of the books of all publishers—a more complete assortment than can be found on the shelves of any other bookstore in the entire country. We solicit correspondence from librarians unacquainted with our facilities.

LIBRARY DEPARTMENT

A. C. McCLURG & CO.
CHICAGO

BINDER FOR THE NATION

To receive the current number in a convenient (temporary) form. Substantially made, bound in cloth, with THE NATION stamped on the side in gold. Holds about one volume. Papers easily and neatly adjusted. Sent, postpaid, on receipt of 75 cents. Address The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York City.

The NATION is a member of the Audit Bureau of Circulations which regularly audits and attests all figures given. **A.B.C.**

Read **"THE FLAMINGO'S NEST"**
"A story that holds the interest."—*Oakland Tribune*
A HONOLULU NOVEL
369 pages. Express paid, $1.35
R. SPRAGUE, 2112 Durant Ave., BERKELEY, CAL

Don't Wear a Truss


MR. C. E. BROOKS

Brooks' Appliance, the modern scientific invention, the wonderful new discovery that relieves rupture, will be sent on trial. No obnoxious springs or pads.

Brooks' Rupture Appliance

Has automatic Air Cushions. Binds and draws the broken parts together as you would a broken limb. No salves. No lies. Durable, cheap. Sent on trial to prove it. Protected by U. S. patents. Catalog and measure blanks mailed free. Send name and address today.
C. E. BROOKS, 0000 State St., Marshall, Mich.



SHIPS AND SHIPPING

Reliable news and comment relating to the shipping trade and the shipbuilding industry are to be found in the interesting weekly periodical

THE NAUTICAL GAZETTE
(Founded 1871)

One of the main purposes of The Nautical Gazette is to foster the proper development of the American merchant marine and the improvement of waterways and harbors.

Subscription $3.00 a year.

Address 20 Vesey St., N. Y.



WHAT IS MAN'S SUPREME INHERITANCE?

A Practical and Comprehensive Answer to This Question Will Be Found in an Original Work

Man's Supreme Inheritance

By F. MATTHIAS ALEXANDER

With an Introductory Word by Professor John Dewey of Columbia University

What are particularly original and valuable in this work are the author's analysis of the fundamental conditions of human evolution and his demonstration that the time has now arrived for adapting man's life to these conditions, not by a fatalistic surrender to blind atavism and retrograde instincts, but by the exercise of conscious intelligence, by a conscious guidance and control of the human organism and human conduct which will meet all the demands of an advancing civilization.

Man's Supreme Inheritance constitutes a preventive and remedial measure to combat the ills of modern civilization

A practical system of physical and mental guidance and control is offered, based not on a specific, but on a general reëducation, coördination, and readjustment of the organism which commands adequate activity of the vital processes with the minimum of effort, and complete adaptability to an ever-changing environment.

Prof. John Dewey of Columbia University in his prefatory word says:

"No one, it seems to me, has grasped the meaning, dangers, and possibilities of this change more lucidly and completely than Mr. Alexander. His account of the crises which have ensued upon this evolution IS A CONTRIBUTION TO A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF EVERY PHASE OF CONTEMPORARY LIFE. The ingeniously inclined will have little difficulty in paralleling Mr. Alexander's criticism of Physical Culture Methods within any field of our economic and political life. In his criticism of return or relapse to the simpler conditions from which civilized man has departed Mr. Alexander's philosophy appears in its essential features. He does not stop with a pious recommendation of such conscious control; HE POSSESSES AND OFFERS A DEFINITE METHOD FOR ITS REALIZATION, and even a layman can testify, as I am glad to do, to the efficiency of its working in concrete cases. IN THE LARGER SENSE OF EDUCATION, THIS WHOLE BOOK IS CONCERNED WITH EDUCATION. TRUE SPONTANEITY is henceforth not a birthright, but the last term, THE CONSUMMATE CONQUEST OF AN ART—THE ART OF CONSCIOUS CONTROL to the mastery of which MR. ALEXANDER'S BOOK SO CONVINCINGLY INVITES US."

John Madison Taylor, M.D., Professor of Applied Therapeutics

Temple University, Philadelphia; for 16 years Assistant of S. Weir Mitchell, Travelling Physician with Joseph Pulitzer, and ranch associate of Theodore Roosevelt, writing to Mr. Alexander about the theory and method set forth in the book, says: "I feel that you have reached

THE HEART OF A GREAT MATTER

which I shall watch with keen interest in its later developments. Do put your views on record fully, and make many revisions and elaborations so long as you live. It will prove

A NOTABLE CONTRIBUTION TO HUMAN WELFARE

If it be practicable, I shall come to you and beg opportunity to learn at first hand. I particularly congratulate you on your ability to reduce to practical procedures the principles you would inculcate."

PRICE $2.00 NET. AT ALL BOOKSTORES POSTAGE EXTRA.

E. P. DUTTON & COMPANY, 681 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

The Nation Press, Inc.